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ABSTRACT

This document on the life cycle contains the 7th grade teacher background material, student activities component, and a unit test. The major objective of the unit is to encourage students to think critically about their own past and future through examination of how people in various cultures live. The teacher background component is presented in three sections. Section I introduces the concept of life cycle, presents an overview of anthropology, and describes comparative and holistic approaches to investigating cultures. Section II focuses on influences on the course of life cycle events, including heredity, nutrition, prenatal environment, disease, emotional factors, and cultural factors. Section III presents case studies of the Tiv (African tribal people), Balkan peasants, Chinese, and the American Middle class. Information is presented on cultural background, life cycle stages, and on contrasting life cycle characteristics among groups. The student textbook and activities component is presented in seven chapters. Chapter I introduce anthropological terms and concepts; explore how and why students should study the life cycle and outlines major life cycle stages; offer an overview of American, Chinese, Tiv, and Balkan cultures; and compare, contrast, and summarize infancy, childhood, and adulthood in the four cultures. An appendix presents review questions, activities, resource material, and vocabulary. The test component includes 50 multiple-choice questions based on material presented in the teacher and student texts. (DB)

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life cycle

TEACHER BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Anthropology Curriculum Project
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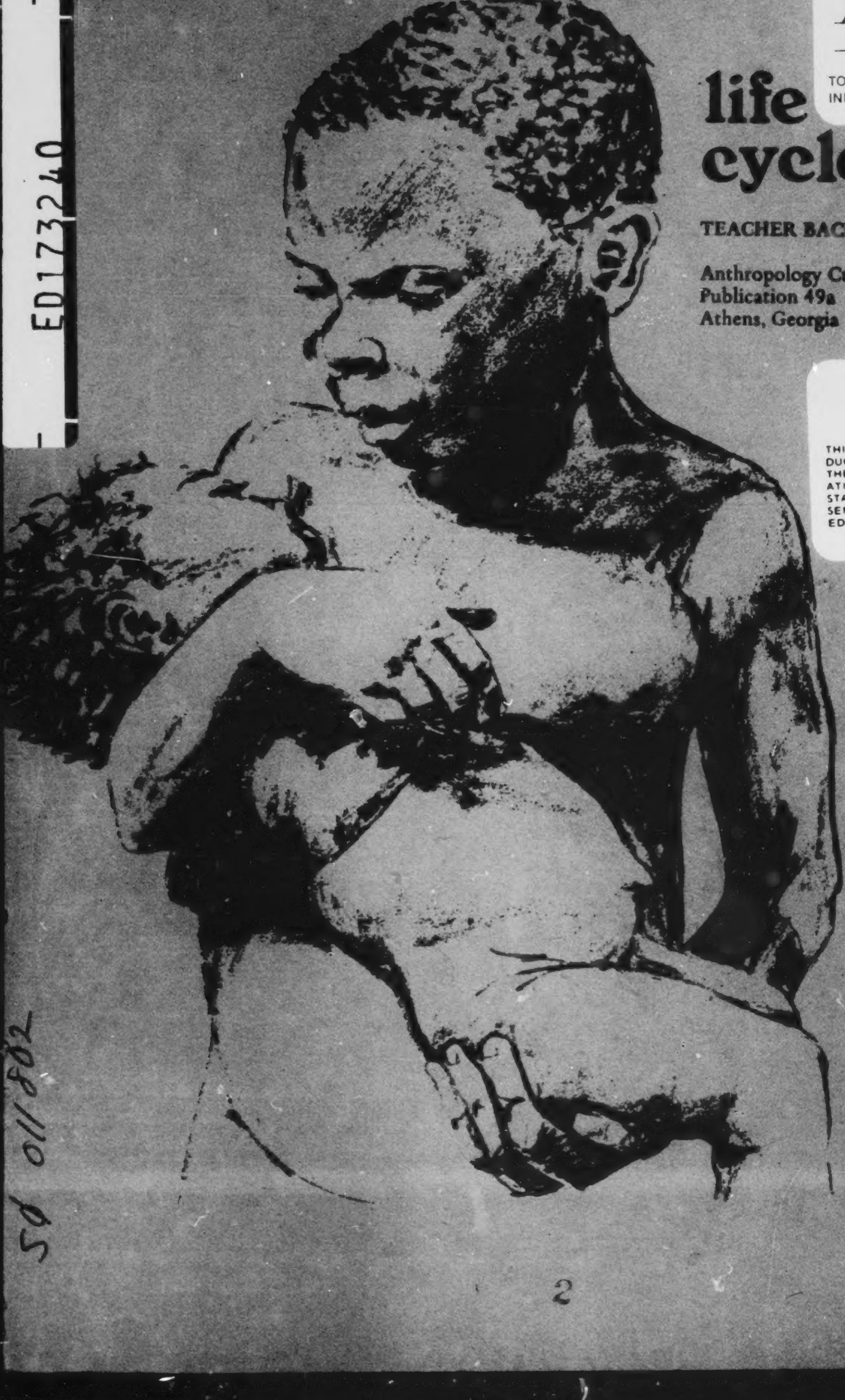

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The Anthropology Project at the University of Georgia is a cooperative project involving anthropologists from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and a variety of specialists from the College of Education.

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INTRODUCTION (1.0)

The Life Cycle--a fundamental characteristic of all living things. (1.1)

1.101 Human beings are born, they mature, they reproduce, and they die. This process happens over and over again. It is a fundamental characteristic of all living things and is what we mean by *Life Cycle* in the broadest sense of the term.

1.102 If we reflect on the course of our own lives, we realize that we are, at this moment, at a particular place in our own individual life cycle. In order to arrive at this point, it has been necessary to pass through a series of stages. Identifying labels are attached to each of them. The teacher, for example, is now an *adult* and probably has been considered such for some time. The seventh grade pupil, on the other hand, is just entering a phase in the life cycle characterized by rapid physical growth.

Significance for Seventh Graders (1.11)

1.111 Often by the seventh grade, pupils have started to question seriously the accepted beliefs and practices of their community, of their parents, and of other adults. It is also a period in the United States, particularly among children of the middle class, when boys and girls are just beginning to enter the long transition from *childhood* to *adulthood* with its related adjustments. This is the period of *adolescence.* The Life Cycle Unit is organized to capitalize on the accelerated physical growth, intensified questioning, and reorganization of interests, ideas and expectations characteristic of this period. It requires pupils to become students and carry the burden of inquiry, respecting their need and desire for self-initiation and added responsibility.

1.112 Because this is characteristically the beginning of a period of reorientation and questioning for many American youngsters, it is an ideal time to present them with a variety of life cycle patterns. They personally are concerned with the problems of becoming an adult. The biological changes they are experiencing make them acutely aware of discrepancies between the cultural concepts of adulthood and biological maturity. The conflict which arises as a result of this discrepancy helps them to internalize some of the fundamental concepts of the life cycle. Further, their personal struggle to accept and adjust to the new world of adult culture makes it easier for them to understand more nearly the full significance of a different way of life and to emphathize with the people who participate in it. At no other time during the school year will a youngster so nearly approximate the actual experience of having to adjust to an entirely new way of life such as the anthropologist does when he or she goes into the field to study another culture.

1.113 Prior to the seventh grade, the concept of life cycle would have little meaning for the child. His general knowledge of both the biological and the cultural aspects of the life cycle would be inadequate for him to gain much from such a study. It is only now, for the first time, that the youngster is close enough to adult status to begin to project himself meaningfully into the future. Now for the first time also, he or she is able to look back at the early years of life with some perspective. It is during this period as well, that a youngster tends, from time to time, to think critically about his past and his future in an attempt to understand himself. The systematic study of the life cycle in a number of cultures may help him find answers for some of his own problems. All of these factors make the seventh grade a most desirable time to introduce the study of the life cycle.

Purpose and Desired Results (1.120)

1.121 This unit on the life cycle will expose the seventh grader to some of the many different ways that people live out their lives. It will point out not only a variety of life cycle patterns but also that individuals at different stages in the life cycle often tend to act in characteristic ways. The unit will provide an opportunity to learn about the difficulties other people face during the course of a life time and how they solve them. This should establish a broader perspective from which the youngster may seek answers for his own problems and also should help him understand some of the reasons why people act differently. An awareness of the diversity in life cycle styles, of variations in attitudes within a single life cycle, and of the associated problems should help the seventh grader relate in a more meaningful way to a wider group of people. These people may include parents, siblings, and those individuals with differing cultural backgrounds. This awareness also should lead to a better understanding of self and of the increasing demands encountered during the critical transition to adulthood which the youngster is just beginning to experience.

1.122 Anthropology is a discipline which has long been interested in human similarities and differences. It provides a broad and fruitful base from which to approach the study of the life cycle.

Anthropology--what is special about it? (1.2)

1.20 Anthropology has been called a "Mirror for Man" because of its special perspective which looks at man in his totality. The concern of anthropology is the scientific study of man with a view to understanding man wherever he is found. Anthropology has no restrictions on the study of man in time or space. As a scientific discipline, the emphasis of anthropology is trying to understand the differences and similarities which are found in groups of people throughout the world.

The Concept of Culture (1.21)

1.210 Basic to the anthropological point of view is the concept of culture. Culture may be thought of as the sum total of what all human beings learn and what they do or do not do with their knowledge. Learning to plow a field or knowing that people can and do fly in a space capsule is as much a part of culture as learning to read or thinking about the classical or jazz music you want to hear.

1.211 Viewed as Learned Behavior. Every adult has learned the ways of the people who raised him and taught him what they know. In turn, most of that knowledge had been passed on to them from their elders. Culture is learned and passed on from one generation to the next. Man, alone, can pass on to his young information and knowledge about situations before they are encountered. This is done through symbolic language. By using words as symbols for the things themselves, man can pass on information and ideas from persons who have passed them on to him. These ideas may have come originally from people he has never seen, information gathered through time before he was born. Thus, man is not limited to the present like other animals. He not only has experience of the present but also of the past, and even can anticipate events in the future--all this is accomplished through language.

1.212 Viewed as a Way of Life. The word 'culture' however, is frequently used more specifically to refer to the way of life of a particular group of people and what they learn along with other members of the group to which they belong. Thus, we speak of Eskimo culture, or American culture, or Japanese culture--meaning in each case the total pattern of life as it is lived by each respective group.

1.213 Viewed as Arbitrary Parts of a Whole. When an anthropologist undertakes the study of a particular culture, he usually begins by examining and analyzing it through its parts as he perceives them. Language, technology, economy, social organization, the supernatural, values--these are some of the terms used by anthropologists to organize their data and describe the parts of a culture. Anthropologists find it useful to subdivide cultures in this way for descriptive purposes, but there are no such sharp divisions in the actual operation of a culture.

1.214 Viewed as Functionally Integrated. The various parts of a culture are functionally integrated. They tend to reinforce one another in maintaining cohesion and in fulfilling the personal needs of the individuals living within the culture. In an old, stable, well-integrated culture, the various parts tend to show congruence, close consistency, and mutual support.

1.215 Viewed as More than the Sum of the Parts. Although a culture can be approached initially for study in terms of parts, this does not tell the whole story. These parts are linked together in such an intricate way that a culture in its totality is much more than a simple summation of its parts. This is one of the main discoveries of anthropology---that no culture can be divided simply or logically into separate parts and can be truly understood. Culture is a complex whole, and understanding it requires that it somehow be viewed as a whole.

The Comparative Method and Cultural Relativity (1.22)

1.220 The comparative method and the concept of cultural relativity together form an approach to the study of man which is characteristic of anthropology. It is only after we look at other people and the way they live that we can begin to look critically at ourselves and the way we live. We suddenly realize every individual is born into a certain culture, is reared in that culture, learns the ways of that culture. For him, the ways of his own culture are right and true; and the ways of other cultures are, if not wrong at least peculiar. We begin to realize why other people may also see our ways as peculiar or even wrong. Thus, the study of other people provides us with different reference points from which to view our own actions.

1.221 The Comparative Method. The comparative method of anthropology and the attempt to understand man in both his uniformity and diversity leads to a special outlook. An anthropologist hesitates to accept any statement about man that is based only on experience taken from his own culture. For example, if one is going to make generalized statements about the process of growing up and becoming an adult, one needs to gather information about this process from many different cultures. The anthropologist believes that it is necessary to study and compare the widest possible range of cultures, past and present, and in all parts of the world, to determine just what features are common to the growing up process and which ones are unique to certain situations.

1.222 Cultural Relativity. The comparative method and the broad perspective which results, has led to the concept of cultural relativity. This concept simply means that standards of rightness or wrongness apply only to the culture of which they are a part, and that these standards have no relevance nor meaning except in that given culture. It means that all people do not desire the same things in life. It means that different cultural situations require different solutions and lead to different end products. It means that each culture has its own set of values and lives by those values. In other words, our ways are as strange to other people as their ways are to us. Consequently, the anthropologist learns to detach himself and suspend judgement, refraining from both condemnations and apologetics. He strives to understand each culture in its own setting, profoundly respecting the people and the way they live, whoever they may be.

The Holistic Approach (1.23)

1.230 A third characteristic of anthropology, is the holistic approach. Anthropology, with its immense scope and wide variety of methods for studying people, attempts to develop a holistic or total view of man. Disciplines like biology, genetics, and sociology are much more specialized in that their concerns are specific aspects of the human phenomenon. Anthropology overlaps, touches on, draws from, and feeds into many different fields of knowledge.

1.231 Man through time and space. Anthropologists see the necessity for looking into human activity everywhere man has lived. Anthropologists also discover and record the circumstances that have permitted man to exist under a variety of conditions. For example, the study of the burial practices of Neanderthal man permits us to infer that these men living in Europe some 150 000 years ago already possessed a well-developed religion. The study of Australian aborigines as they live today make us realize that social relations and kinship can be very complicated among people who are still using hand-made stone tools and wooden digging sticks. In discovering these things about different peoples, remote in time and space, anthropology adds to our general understanding of man as a whole.

1.2321 Biological, psychological, and cultural man. Anthropologists recognize that man's physical make-up is part of what makes him a man, and that biological and psychological processes influence his culture. If man were biologically constituted so that he had retained a prehensile (grasping) tail, what would be the affect on clothing, automobiles and other material items in his culture? If human young, like those of some animals, could walk within an hour of their birth, how would this affect their early care? It is only by understanding the basic limitations placed on man by his physical nature that one can understand why people act as they do.

1.2322 On the other hand, anthropologists are concerned equally with the influence culture may have on man's biological make-up. To what extent does one's way of life influence musculature and the kinds of things that one can do? Consider the way people sit or squat.

Custom has required women in India to squat with their feet flat on the ground for long periods of time. Few Americans can do this without having their legs cramp or go to sleep. We know that people who do stand up at their jobs tend to have varicose veins and that "bookworms" tend to have rounded shoulders.

1.2323 Anthropologists also are interested in psychology and the whole range of individual behavior. We consider a person who has hallucinations to be mentally ill while the Eskimos and most of the Boreal Forest Indian groups would consider him a prophet, visionary, or even feel it is necessary for him to have visions in order to be successful in some customary adult occupation.

How does culture influence biology or psychology? How does biology or psychology influence culture? Anthropologists are interested in finding answers to all these questions and their implications for our total understanding of man.

1.233 Man seen through history and unique events. Anthropology recognizes accident and the importance of unique events and situations in the lives of individuals and of cultures. Historians traditionally have emphasized this approach to the study of man, but anthropology also realizes that the unique has relevance and importance for any total view of man. The life histories used frequently in life cycle studies bring out the different and unique aspects of individual lives. On a larger scale, culture histories also demonstrate the unique or accidental. Sometimes particular events start new trends which become the rule rather than the exception in a given culture. Exploring the unique, whether on an individual or cultural level, is another way of accumulating knowledge about the full range of human activity.

1.234 Man as revealed through the study of similarities. In addition to the unique, anthropologists seek to discover similarities. All individuals in a particular culture have certain things in common and are in some ways alike. Likewise, all cultures are similar in some ways. If the anthropologist learns that individuals in a culture cut their hair in a specified way, this custom is termed a trait for that culture. If all cultures share a certain trait, this is called a universal. All cultures have some sort of economic system, though the exact form of the system varies from culture to culture. The system of farming used by Southeast Asian peasants differs from the buffalo hunting pattern of the Indians of our Great Plains. But they are similar in that they represent ways of making a living. They are different forms of the same economic universal which is characteristic of all cultures. Language is also a universal. Obviously, not all people can communicate with each other, but all cultures have a language by which to verbally communicate. Anthropologists seek to discover and understand similarities of all kinds among individuals within the same culture and among different cultures. This is necessary in order to make valid statements about man in general and to enlarge our total view of man as a product of his biology and his culture, throughout the length of his existence, and throughout the world.

1.235 We can see that anthropology is special. No other discipline combines the use of the Comparative Method and Cultural Relativity, the Holistic Approach, and the Concept of Culture as anthropologists do in their systematic study of man. The following section will examine some of the ways in which anthropologists gather information about people and the human life cycle.

The Life Cycle---illustrating one area of anthropological interest and its related techniques (1.3)

1.30 Anthropology is holistic in approach and broadly comparative in its method. It is concerned with all aspects of man and his culture, including the human life cycle. To obtain the information he seeks, the anthropologist can choose from a wide range of specific techniques.

Method (1.31)

1.311 The anthropologist's main techniques for studying people directly are observation, participant observation, and questioning. He may use some or all of these in any combination, depending on what he feels is appropriate for a given situation. When simply observing a culture, the anthropologist chooses to remain an outsider looking in. Often, however, the anthropologist establishes for himself a close friendly relationship with one or more individuals of the culture he is studying. These informants act as a bridge between the anthropologist and the rest of the community, they help him interpret the way of life he is observing. With the assistance of informants, the anthropologist can become a participant-observer where he actually lives among the people he is studying as one of them, all the while observing how they live. Finally, by questioning various persons intensively, he adds to the depth and detail of the information he has gathered by the other methods. The foregoing combination and sequence of techniques is the one most commonly used by the anthropologist when he is studying a culture directly.

1.312 When the anthropologist is specifically interested in the life cycle of a people, he relies heavily on his informants and the intensive questioning of them and other persons. From these individuals the anthropologist obtains extensive life-histories as each is prompted to tell his own personal story. If the people are literate, they may be asked to write their own life-histories in textual form. Thus, the anthropologist obtains a detailed record of the life course of many individuals.

Comparison of Life Histories for Similarities and Differences (1.32)

1.320 When these records are compared, a two-fold story emerges ---similarity, on one hand, and difference on the other. Although there will be individual variation in these life-histories, there also will be uniformity as certain patterns and themes begin to appear in what people say happens to them during the course of a life-time. Similar things will be said to happen at similar times in life, over and over from generation to generation. These themes and patterns become meaningful by checking them against actual observations of how people live at a given time. Thus, the anthropologist is able to piece together the general pattern of the life cycle as it is lived by the group of people he is studying, as well as the range of individual variation and difference. If the anthropologist is living in the culture under investigation as a participant-observer, his own participation and even the difficulties he encounters in adjusting to the culture may help him understand and interpret the life-histories and other information he has collected.

Purposes of Life Cycle Studies (1.33)

1.331 Life cycle studies have been used traditionally by anthropologists in several ways. Frequently they have been used to complement general studies of particular cultures. These studies usually describe a culture in terms of "parts" or "categories" such as economics, technology, politics, and social organization. We know that this results in a somewhat flat and artificial picture since culture is a complex whole moving through time. Life cycle studies provide a focal point---the life course of the individual---around which the various cultural processes can be seen to operate in relation to one another through time. In other words, life cycle studies put the parts back together again, adding a new dimension to our understanding of the whole.

1.332 Another way that life cycle studies have been utilized by anthropologists has been to gain knowledge of what various cultural processes mean to the individual. How does an individual learn the ways of his culture? How does he grow up and become independent? How does the growing-up process differ from one culture to another? What happens when an individual leaves his own culture and moves into another? What happens to an individual's life when his traditional culture is radically and rapidly changing either under the pressure of contact with another culture or just through pressures within the culture itself? These are the kinds of questions that life cycle studies help to answer.

1.333 The ultimate value of life cycle studies lies in the information they add to the total, holistic view of man and his culture. Hopefully this knowledge in turn will help the individual to become more aware of his surroundings and better able to understand himself.

THE LIFE CYCLE 2.0

Man is a Complex Animal (2.1)

2.10 Very simple animal forms have almost no choice in the way they live. Their nervous systems are extremely simple. Some have only a suggestion of the features which in other animals becomes a brain. With the evolution of the brain, the capacity to learn from experience expands and the possibility for more complex animals to vary their way of life also increases. Man, by virtue of his ability to profit not only from his own experience but the collective experience of others, has the greatest opportunity of all of the animals to change the details of his life. Thus despite the fact that all men are basically similar, the peoples of the world live out their lives in an enormous variety of ways.

The Biology of the Life Cycle. (2.2)

2.20 The life cycle as a cultural phenomenon is the primary concern of this unit. An adequate understanding of this process demands a knowledge of the relationship between its cultural and biological aspects.

Life as a Continuum (2.21)

2.210 Life is a continuum, a complex process that moves with an urgency from beginning to end. Development and change are inherent in any living organism. When the long sequence of changes is over, life is finished and the organism is dead. Although man goes through periods of rapid growth, the overall biological changes experienced during a life time take place very slowly when compared with other animals. This is particularly true of man's early formative years, a time spent in learning many of the basic ways of his culture.

2.211 An Orderly Process of Change. The changes that take place during man's lifetime are not haphazard. There are times of rapid change and other times when change is slow. Pubescence is characterized by very rapid change in many regions of the body. Aging, on the other hand, involves a slow gradual process producing physical decline. Various changes in the body do not happen simultaneously but occur at different rates. The nervous system develops rapidly during the early years, while the reproductive system matures much later during the pubescent growth spurt. Still, this life process is orderly. It has direction and a characteristic pattern.

2.2121. Factors Influencing Change. Many influences both internal and external to the body, can cause the details of the biological pattern to vary from individual to individual. One set of genetic factors engineers a general pattern difference between males and females. This results in girls losing their ability to run rapidly at pubescence while boys do not. The pelvic structure of the male remains narrow while that of the female begins to broaden in response to certain hommonal changes that prepare her for future reproductive functions. Other genetic factors may allow a few people to eat and eat without getting fat while others gain weight on skim milk and dry toast.

2.2122 External factors such as environment and culture also can generate differences in the human pattern. Life in harsh environments can speed up the aging process, producing advanced physical decline by age 35. Although life-expectancy in our culture has been increased to approximately age 70 by medical science, the extreme speed and pressures of urban industrial life take their toll on the human body, greatly increasing the chances for early decline and death from cardiovascular complications.

2.213. Significance of Factors Influencing Change. For human beings, such external influences have tremendous significance. The demands of culture may oppose and even contradict the demands of biology. This possibility can create many problems for man, such as the familiar difficulties of growing up and growing old in our own culture. More than any other animal, man can disregard his life processes and place himself seemingly at odds with his own biology. Americans, for example, must endure a long delay between biological maturity and legitimate sexual activity. Further, man even can devise ways to hide such fundamental contradictions from himself so well that they may pose no real problems for him. Culture makes these manipulations possible. Culture can create contradictions and sometimes even solve them.

The Continuum of Human Life (2.22)

2.220 The biological continuum of human life basically is like that of many other living forms except that man tends to mature more slowly and to live longer than the animals most like himself. This prolonged period of dependency provides man with time necessary to begin learning those fundamentals essential for life in complex human societies.

2.221 Conception and Prenatal Development. Conception takes place when the parent cells meet and fuse, bringing together two sets of genes in one unique configuration. This fixed genetic endowment sets forth a plan for future biological development and change which is modified by the life experiences of the individual. The duration of human pregnancy is relatively long, its average length being about

266 days or 40 weeks. The fertilized egg undergoes cell division at a rapid rate and at first is no more than a homogenous mass of growing cells. By the eighth week it has differentiated into specialized tissue and taken on a recognizably human appearance. At this time, the whole nervous system is developing rapidly. The head is almost the size of the rest of the body. In fact, from early prenatal life, the brain is nearer its adult size than any other organ. During these first few months, the increase in body length and weight is most impressive. The growth rate slows down toward the end of prenatal development, most noticeably during the last four weeks before birth.

2.222 Infant at Birth. After birth, growth speeds up again and continues at a fast pace until the age of one year. The newborn human is small and completely helpless. His brain is not fully developed. He is without developed sense functions and is limited in his ability to fight disease or adapt to temperature changes. Compared with adults he has short arms and legs, narrow shoulders and hips, and a large head. The hands characteristically make random movements, alternately spreading and closing the fingers. The thumb is useless for grasping at this time.

2.2231 The First Year. This first year brings many significant changes. The infant begins for the first time to see distinct images as the final development of the cerebral cortex takes place from the third through the sixth month. The slow replacement of cartilage by bone, started before birth, continues. To facilitate growth, however, spaces remain cartilaginous between bones that will eventually be joined or fused. At this time bones are more flexible and less likely to break than in adults. The thumb becomes useful in grasping during the sixth month. Usually the "milk teeth" start to erupt at six months also, and frequently eight of these deciduous teeth have appeared by the end of the first year.

2.2232 In this year the infant progresses from an undifferentiated uncontrolled mass of movements to the point where he has enough muscular strength for standing and independent walking. He can see, hear and touch, and begin to blend these functions in coordinated combinations. By one year, he is finally equipped to discover that he and his environment are things apart, and a sense of autonomy begins to develop.

2.2241 Between Age One and Pubescence. The decade or more between the age of one and the onset of pubescence is a time of gradual cumulative development with no sharp breaks. Overall change is slowest between the ages of three and six years. There are gradual changes in body proportions and shape. These produce a general slenderizing trend which stops at age seven for the trunk but continues until pubescence in the arms and legs. The individual becomes progressively thinner and more wiry. There is a steady loss of fat with a slight increase in weight each year. Height is added at a progressively decelerating rate.

By age six, two-thirds of adult height is attained. From age three to ten the muscles grow in length, breadth and fiber thickness. Almost all developments in body shape and proportions apply to both sexes prior to pubescence, and it is practically impossible to distinguish boy from girl if seen in silhouette only.

2.2242 By age three, all the deciduous teeth are apparent. Within the gums, however, the process of replacing them with new ones has already begun. First, the roots of the deciduous teeth are gradually absorbed, leaving only the crowns. When permanent teeth are ready to erupt, the deciduous teeth loosen and easily fall out. By six, usually some of the deciduous teeth already are being slowly replaced. The six year molars appear at this point also. This is a time of mixed dentition with both deciduous and permanent teeth in the mouth. Frequently this results in some teeth being out of line, but in time the condition may correct itself. Throughout the whole period of deciduous tooth eruption, and later when they are being replaced by permanent teeth, the jaws undergo rapid growth, thereby lessening the chances for crowding and irregular allignment. By age twelve, all the permanent teeth are in except the third molars or "wisdom teeth", and the dentition begins to have a look of maturity.

2.2243 The development of the skeleton during the period between age one and pubescence continues as before but very slowly. Bone continues gradually to replace the original cartilage. The spine begins to stiffen, a process which continues slowly into maturity. The fingers grow very slowly during most of these years, giving the hands their typical short stubby appearance, but around the age of ten or eleven the fingers begin to lengthen.

2.2244 Between age one and pubescence also, there is a steady increase in general body efficiency, skill and control. From one to three the individual acquires the balance and skill necessary for walking and running about. From three to six, motor skills are reaching a high level of proficiency. Accuracy in sense perception also improves greatly. Beginning in the third year, there is a steady increase in motor reaction time, speed of movement, versatility and strengths which continues until pubescence.

2.2245 Through these years of slow development, the appetite is realtively diminished. This is not only because less food is needed but because the individual is absorbed in his environment, always eager for new discoveries. These long years of gradual cumulative change end suddenly with the onset of the pubescent growth spurt and the rapid push to biological maturity.

2.2251 Pubescence. The pubescent growth spurt refers to a series of very rapid physiological changes which lead to the final maturation of the body as a whole. Although sexual maturity is an important and obvious result of these changes, nearly all body tissues are actually involved. Practically every muscular and skeletal measurement takes part in a general accelerated spurt of growth, though not all to the same degree. These events of pubescence usually occur together, linked in a rather uniform sequence.

2.2252 According to most figures, the spurt begins for boys between the ages 13 and 15½, and for girls some two years earlier. The rate of change peaks toward the end of the spurt. Timing, intensity and duration vary considerably, not only between the sexes but between individuals of the same sex. Mere chronological age tells us very little about the degree to which anyone has progressed through pubescent changes. Could this tendency for boys to lag about two years behind girls in all aspects of pubescence, help to account for the culturally recurring preference for males to have wives that are younger than themselves?

2.2253 A very early indicator that the spurt has begun is an acceleration in foot growth. This is followed by rapid lengthening of the long bones in the arms and legs. From that point on, males have relatively longer arms and legs than females. Another rapid increase in height is added next by trunk elongation. When overall height is increasing at its maximum, boys are adding some 4½ inches per year, and girls slightly less. Noticeable change in height ceases between 16 and 20.

2.2254 An increase in weight follows the height spurt but lags about 6 months behind it. This may account for the popular notion of a "filling out period" after most of one's height is attained. The weight increase in boys results largely from added bone and muscle tissue, but fat accounts for most of the increase in girls. Steady weight increase comes to a halt in the early twenties.

2.2255 Closely following height and weight is a spurt in strength. This is more evident in boys because muscular development accounts for most of it. As muscles grow larger and shoulders broaden, strength increases at a rapid rate.

The changes of pubescence have an initial adverse affect on motor performance and skill. A period of awkwardness follows attainment of the various new and unfamiliar physical dimensions. For girls, the mature female shape permanently ends progress in certain activities like running which require specific kinds of movement and strength. Boys, however, pass through this awkward period, and motor performance continues to progress rapidly until about age 17.

2.2256 The signs of sexual maturation follow a regular sequence as do the other events of pubescence. The whole process takes about 4½ or 5 years to complete. In boys, the first signs that the process has begun are the rapid growth of the genitals and the appearance of pubic hair. About a year later, facial and axillary hair make their appearance, and the growth of pubic hair accelerates. Soon the male genitals are capable of ejaculation, though they do not produce mature spermatazoa for a while yet. In another year or more, the larynx lengthens and the voice deepens. Usually when the voice change is complete, the male is sexually mature and capable of reproduction. His peak years of sexual drive are normally between age 15 and 20.

2.2257 For girls, the first sign of approaching sexual maturity is the development of the breasts which slowly begin to enlarge. Pubic hair appears for the first time, followed by the growth of axillary hair. The hips begin to broaden, gradually attaining their adult dimensions through pelvic widening and a redistribution of fat. At the same time, along with changes in the breasts and hips, the internal reproductive organs begin their final development. Just after the breasts complete their changes, the menstrual cycle begins. The first menstrual period does not mark the beginning of full reproductive capacity. For some time after the menstrual cycle begins, the ovaries shed very few, if any, reproductive cells. Consequently, this is a time of natural infertility during which conception is rare, even in cultures where boys and girls are permitted unrestrained sexual activity from a very early age. The length of the infertile period varies considerably. In the United States the average length is about 3 years, but five and even nine year periods have been reported for some non-literate cultures. Though rare, conceptions are possible during this time. These pregnancies are extremely dangerous with high death rates for both mothers and offspring. Pregnancy frequently ends in spontaneous miscarriage. The optimum years for reproduction in women seem to be the early twenties. Below the age of 18, the death rates rise sharply, the highest being for females under 15.

2.2261 Maturity. After the rapid changes of pubescence, the human body as a whole is mature, with sexual characters fully developed and capable of reproduction. The male is larger, one reason being that his delayed growth spurt gives him an extra two years of steady slow growth prior to the onset of pubescence. The mature male is more muscular, with heavier bones, wider shoulders, and longer arms and legs. His face is more rugged and heavy, with bony ridges at the brow. His hips remain narrow and he is generally more angular in overall shape. He is physically suited to perform activities requiring powerful but short bursts of strength and energy. The mature female is smaller and more rounded in overall shape. Her face remains less rugged and more infantile, with a smother brow. As a whole, her constitution is suited to childbearing and activities requiring endurance and a low but steady and sustained output of energy. Although there may be some truth in popular notions of "the weaker sex", this term describes the female only in a very restricted sense. From conception on, women are able to survive better than men. They live longer. This tendency seems to be a part of a natural mechanism whereby the species insures its own continuity. Obviously, large numbers of males are not necessary to species survival.

2.2262 After maturity has been attained, change slows down radically but does not cease altogether. For years to come, most bodily changes are almost imperceptible. The third molars or "wisdom teeth" appear between 18 and 25. Strength increases slowly until age 30. Skeletal development continues at a very slow pace. Bone replacement is complete by age 20, but the final process of bone fusion goes on for many more years. The spine grows until age 30 but only slightly. Head and face measurements increase slowly but steadily until the age of 60 or more when the bones of the skull have fused extensively. Increase in height does not stop entirely until around 50 for women and 60 for men. Body fullness also increases gradually until these same ages.

2.2271 Aging. There is no line marking the time when the body as a whole begins to age and decline. Long before age brings a halt to the reproductive ability, many parts of the body have begun their slow decline. At the early age of 25, males begin almost imperceptibly to lose their motor abilities and physical powers. By 60, there has been a 40% loss; and by 80, the loss stands between 50% and 60%. Also, after age 25 the organs of sensation and perception begin to lose their sharpness. Sight and hearing are slowly declining by age 30.

2.2272 An obvious sign of age in women is the onset of the menopause and the cessation of the menstrual cycle and reproductive functions. The timing and duration of the menopause tends to vary considerably. The degeneration of the internal reproductive organs is frequently, but not always accompanied by nervousness, heart palpitations, hot flushes and fits of perspiring, dizzy spells, and irritability. Many women go through this period without these afflictions. Contrary to common belief, the sex drive does not necessarily diminish with menopause but may continue undiminished to around age 60.

2.2273 In men, the end of reproductive capabilities is not so clear cut, but simply declines more and more as aging continues. Although the sex drive may be diminished when compared with younger men, it rarely disappears entirely. Sexual activity may go on with limited frequency into very old age.

2.2274 Time gradually brings deteriorative changes to the whole body, increasing its vulnerability and decreasing its ability to stay alive. The body loses its power to heal wounds and regenerate its own tissue. The various organs start to degenerate and atrophy. Heat production declines along with the rate of metabolism and oxygen consumption. There is a gradual decrease in body fullness, muscle volume, water content, and even height. Consequently, the very old are usually quite emaciated and thin. Cold, insomnia and fatigue are common complaints.

2.2275 The entire nervous system undergoes degenerative changes. Advanced age seems to bring a general decline in body sensitivity. Consequently, older people can frequently endure intense pain without the agonizing symptoms of the young. Alterations in the brain can lead to mental deterioration and senility. The aged frequently display impaired memory, an inclination to tears and a tendency to behave childishly, inability to concentrate and depression. Advanced brain deterioration may produce symptoms of severe mental illness in the very old.

2.228 Life Expectancy. Man's inherent life-span has been estimated to be about 100 years, although few reach it and even fewer surpass it. The lives of most persons are cut short of their natural potential by external factors which weaken or wear out the body before its time. The average life expectancy in our culture today is 72, although this figure varies according to sex, race, social class, occupation and other relevant factors. American women tend to live about five years longer than men. On the average, Caucasians live about six years longer than non-Caucasians in this culture. It is not inconceivable that in the future man will be able to reach his inherent life expectancy with far more regularity than he does now.

Factors Influencing the Continuum (2.23)

2.230 The biological condition of the human body at any point in life reflects the combined influence of many different factors. Heredity influences the life cycle from the moment of conception until death. However, it is a long way from the mere possession of genes to the fulfillment of their inherent chemical potential. Many non-genetic factors constantly modify the path of events outlined by the genes at conception. Poor nutrition can suppress growth from an early age. Climate can apparently hasten or retard certain biological processes. Disease and even emotional factors have their effects. Some of these varied influences are advantageous and others are detrimental. All work together closely to control the physical changes that an individual experiences during a lifetime.

2.2311 Heredity. Most people know that such things as eye color and curly hair are inherited, but how many realize the importance of heredity on individual biological change? Studies comparing twins and families have indicated that nearly every aspect of biological growth and development is influenced by genetics. However, it is frequently difficult to distinguish all the specific effects of heredity from other influencing factors.

2.2312 The ages at which tooth eruption, pubescence and skeletal maturity occur depend partially on heredity. Even highly localized developments like the eruption of one tooth before another or specific body proportions are genetically determined. Many physical defects such as dwarfing and mental retardation sometimes can be inherited. Diseases like tuberculosis, cancer and diabetes may not be inheritable in themselves, but inherited gene combinations may produce a tendency for them to develop easily under certain conditions of environment or age. The length of life itself involves heredity, as indicated by the fact that longevity tends to run in families.

2.2321 The Endocrine System. The endocrine glands are the chief agents for translating the instructions of the genes into biological reality. They bring the body first to mature form, and then direct its eventual decline and death. The accuracy of their translation, of course, is limited by many other influencing factors.

2.2322 The endocrines are ductless glands which are widely distributed throughout the body. They secrete complex chemical compounds called hormones directly into the blood stream. These hormones initiate, regulate and control much of the activity in various body organs and tissues. Hormones even regulate each other. Normal growth, maturation and aging depend largely on their properly timed and reciprocal action.

2.2323 Prenatal development is dependent on several hormones, particularly thyroid, which is necessary for normal brain growth. From birth to pubescence the pituitary gland has great significance, secreting "growth hormone". An underactive pituitary gland can produce dwarfism, while overactivity can produce giants. The thyroid gland, vital throughout growth, accounts partly for individual differences in the tempo of development. It seems to have a permissive rather than controlling function. If it functions properly, biological changes happen on schedule. Hormones from the adrenal glands and the reproductive organs are responsible for most pubescent changes, bringing on the growth spurt and sexual maturation. A delicate hormone balance helps keep the body functioning properly through the mature years. Many of the symptoms of age are due to the decline and deterioration of the endocrine mechanism.

2.2331 Prenatal Environment. The course of development set by the genes can be altered for better or for worse long before birth. The younger the unborn individual, the more sensitive he is to conditions in the uterus. Some conditions can produce developmental disorders that will affect him throughout his life. A large proportion of all pregnancies are not affected adversely, however.

2.2332 Women who conceive prior to age 20 or after age 29 are more likely to die in childbirth than women who conceive between those years. The greater the deviation from this optimum period, the more likely it is for the female body to be unprepared physically for the reproductive process. Under these conditions, the reproductive organs are frequently either too immature or too old to develop a normal child and successfully give birth. The underaged or overaged mother often cannot provide the necessary hormones for early prenatal growth. This may lead either to miscarriage or defective offspring. After a woman is 29, there is a great increase in the possibility of producing a mongoloid child. Characteristically, the mongoloid is a severe mental defective, with a life expectancy of about 9 years. Hydrocephalus, or "water on the brain", and Rh factor complications are also more likely to occur when the mother is over 29. On the whole, children conceived outside the optimum period tend to die younger than those conceived within that time span.

2.2333 High blood pressure, diabetes, excess throid and other noninfectious disorders during pregnancy can seriously alter normal development. Virus and bacterial infections, inadequate nutrition, and some varieties of medication can bring severe damage to the unborn. Even emotional disturbances to the mother may cause chemical changes which are capable of interfering with prenatal growth and producing life-long effects. It is difficult to overstate the importance of this early environment to the course of future physical change.

2.2341 Nutrition. One of the most commonly discussed factors affecting the course of human biological processes is nutrition. The human body has definite nutritional requirements necessary to complete its sequence of changes. The rate and direction of growth is clearly affected by the quantity of proteins, fats, vitamins and minerals taken into the system. Maintenance of a minimum caloric intake is also necessary.

2.2342 Increase in protein consumption is thought to be one of the major reasons why second generation immigrants to the United States of any nationality generally tend to be taller than their parents. The offspring of foreign born Orientals who have moved to California develop a head shape which is characteristically broader than their parents. Apparently differences in nutrition are largely responsible.

2.2343 The effects of malnutrition are well known. Deficiency diseases like rickets, scurvy and pellagra--resulting from insufficient amounts of vitamins D, C, and B respectively--are not nearly as common in our culture as they once were. If malnutrition delays growth, a young individual can usually recuperate if the situation occurs only briefly. The body may simply slow down in its changes and wait for better times. When these times finally come, there is a great spurt of growth or a "catching up period". All tissues then develop rapidly until the inherited growth potential is again reached. Persistent malnutrition tends to affect overall body size rather than body shape or composition. Apparently girls can handle malnutrition better than boys since the female body is able to withstand deficiencies for longer periods of time.

2.2344 Overeating also has its adverse affects on the individual. It increases the rate of metabolism, produces obesity, overtaxes the heart and other vital organs which in turn tend to shorten life expectancy. As with malnutrition, the female body apparently can handle overeating better than the male.

2.2345 Recently diet has been shown to have a profound effect on matunation. We now know that during the past 50 to 100 years children in North America, Europe, and Japan reach puberty from three to five years sooner than they once did. In most cases, this trend toward earlier maturity has been correlated positively with better nutrition. These long range studies have helped to demonstrate that nutrition is a much more important factor than climate in determining the onset of menstruation, for example.

2.2351 Climate. Many studies have tried to discover the relationship between climate and biological change. The exact effects of climate on the body have been extremely difficult to determine and separate from nutritional factors. Nonetheless, some kind of relationship does seem to exist.

2.2352 There are observable differences between populations living in geographical areas with differing climates. Cold climates tend to be inhabited by heavy-set individuals with thick chests, short extremities, and small fat-covered wrists and ankles. This body type has value in severely cold climates. Loss of heat is less, because, in proportion to body mass, very little body surface is exposed to the elements. The inhabitants of hot climates, on the other hand, tend to be smaller with lower metabolism and a slower rate of body change. Hot dry climates seem to produce lean, skinny men with long arms and legs, short shallow bodies, and narrow hands and feet. This build acts as a cooling mechanism based on evaporation exposing more body surface to the air in proportion to its mass.

2.2353 These general physical differences between the populations of different climates are hereditary for the most part, but even in single individuals certain changes can be observed to accompany a change in climate. When individuals from cooler climates migrate to the tropics, development seems to slow down. Europeans who move to tropical countries experience a decrease in metabolism which approaches that of Negroid peoples. Even seasonal differences in the rate of change have been noticed in single individuals. In fact, this seasonal variation in the tempo of change is well-marked in most individual growth charts. Summer is the time for rapid gains in height, while weight increases most in the fall of the year.

2.2354 Given enough people, time, and geographic isolation, the physical changes that a different climate produces in individuals could become more important through selective pressures. The climate would favor those who have the genes to adjust to it and would gradually eliminate those who could not adjust. Thus, over a period of time, the less suitable genes would be removed from the population. This ultimately is the way races are formed.

2.2361 Race. A population whose members share enough of the same genes and ancestry to produce a distinct combination of physical traits is considered a race. Actually, there are very few racial distinctions, and most of these are visible. Some racial differences can be observed in the way the body proceeds through its various life changes. Although the general pattern is similar for all races, there are slight differences in timing and degree of change, especially in body proportions and weight. Some of these differences appear quite early in life.

2.2362 Only three months after conception, the unborn Negro is already displaying certain racial characteristics in body proportions and weight. He has a broader nose, smaller hips and longer arms than unborn Caucasians of the same prenatal age. Negroes tend to weigh less than Caucasians at birth and for some time thereafter, but nutrition may be a factor also. Both American and African Negroes begin to sit, crawl, and walk sooner than Caucasians. The teeth of Negro infants begin to erupt several months earlier as well. By age two, however, their progress in motor behavior begins to fall behind Caucasians. The major reason for shift, however, may be non genetic.

2.2363 Several racial differences can be observed at pubescence. Maya Indian girls begin their menstrual cycle at the age of 12 years 10 months despite a low protein diet which might tend to delay sexual maturation. Japanese boys in San Francisco are as tall as Caucasian boys of the same age until they both reach 15. At this time the Japanese youths begin to lag behind.

2.2364 Many of the popularly conceived "differences between races" are not racial differences at all but the result of other factors. These differences can be changed if the environment is altered. Skin color, for example, does not necessarily mean genes or race. Although the potential for pigment formation in the skin is inherited, the actual color of the skin can change with environmental conditions, especially exposure to the sun. Tanning brings more pigment to the surface of the skin, but there is no change in the inherited quantity of pigmentation. In most people of mixed racial extraction--which historically includes all of us---the various pigmented areas may change color with age. In our own culture, for example, often blue eyes present at birth turn brown, or blond hair darkens as time and growth proceed. Likewise, American Negroes are usually born with rather light skin which deepens in time.

2.2365 Individuals who are unaffected by cultural biases will work, play and reproduce with one another regardless of race. This demonstrates that, although there are minor biological differences in man, the actual characteristics chosen for setting up the races as we think of them are determined by man. They are arbitrary genetic traits which are often quite difficult to distinguish from differences related to nutrition, climate, or any number of non-genetic factors.

2.237 Infections and Disease. Studies of twins have shown that infections and diseases can hinder growth and even speed the aging process to a surprising degree. As a rule, substantial differences between identical twins are usually the result of illness in one twin. Childhood diseases such as measles, chicken-pox, and diphtheria were once significant growth inhibitors. In our culture, these and many other infectious diseases have been largely controlled or eliminated by medical science. The various deficiency diseases like rickets, pellagra, and scurvy, are also disappearing in the culture as significant disturbers. Even chronic diseases like diabetes, rheumatic fever, and parasites are being controlled to a great extent. Much of the world, however, still has to contend with all of these, and they constantly interfere with human life and its normal succession of biological events.

2.2381 Emotional factors. The life processes readily respond to emotional factors of all kinds. Physical well-being can be affected at any age by emotional disturbances, psychological deprivations, and stress. On the other hand, general contentment and mental well-being always have a favorable affect on biology.

2.2382 Under emotional stress, hormones are secreted in excessive quantity, speeding the pulse, tensing the muscles, and interrupting digestion. Anyone can testify that intense emotions are physically exhausting. If stress continues, stomach ulcers can result. Extreme emotional stress can be seen in "combat fatigue". The individual characteristically loses weight and develops a pale sickly appearance. If unrelieved, intense emotional stress can lead to the breakdown of the endocrine mechanism and the degeneration of nearly all body organs.

This can result in complete physical disintegration and even death. It is possible for an otherwise healthy individual to be literally "scared to death". Intense fear sometimes can bring about fatal deteriorative changes in a matter of days. "Voodoo Death" seems to operate this way. Unconsolable grief following the loss of a loved one likewise can hasten the decline and death of a distressed survivor.

2.2383 If intense emotions can produce these dramatic effects, it is not surprising that emotions on a lesser scale can have noticeable effects on the pattern of growth. Even when food intake is more than adequate, children who are unhappy usually experience a retardation in general development, particularly in weight increase. The loss of a parent or some similar deprivation can lead to retarded and even permanently stunted growth. A depressed growth rate often preceeds a child's admission to a mental hospital. Emotional stress can lead to excessive weight gain and obesity as well. In attempting to avoid an unpleasant situation, the individual may begin to eat and sleep more, lapsing into depression and inactivity. Emotional upsets can also lower the body's resistance to various diseases.

2.2384 Emotional factors frequently make menopause worse than it need be. They can also intensify the aging process, speeding biological deterioration and decline. The inactivity, uselessness, depression, and loneliness that our culture usually imposes on the aged frequently has this unnecessary and unfortunate effect. A certain amount of activity is valuable to an old person's emotional well-being. This, in turn, enhances his biological well-being, which delays the aging process and lengthens life.

2.2391 Cultural Factors. An ever present influence on the course of human life is culture, that part of man's environment which he himself creates. Every aspect of his surroundings is modified in one way or another by it. Culture can enhance, alter, hinder or even ignore to some extent, the workings of biology. While genes, hormones and climate are pooling their influences to lay out a course of life, cultural expectations may modify drastically the outcome. Each culture produces its own ideas of what should be happening and what the result should be. Sometimes cultural activities which seem insignificant to biology and the life cycle can have profound effects on these processes.

2.2392 Culture can regulate heredity to some extent. By prohibiting or encouraging certain types of marriage, culture exerts control over the genetic makeup of populations. The Cataba, a small group of American Indians living in the South Eastern part of the United States almost became extinct from lack of suitable mates. For many years the Caucasians in the area refused to marry them because they are Indians, and the Indians refused to marry Negroes. Gradually within recent years this restriction has become less, but the effect on the population has been extreme. This case serves to illustrate how complete the influence of culture can be. Large scale wars which systematically sacrifice the best physical and mental specimens of a culture must have a profound effect on the genetic makeup of the population.

2.2393 Cultural practices can easily alter the normal functioning of the endocrine mechanism. A custom in some cultures has been the deliberate surgical alteration of the reproductive organs in selected young boys. This operation permanently prevents the production of various sex hormones that regulate pubescent change. The result is a eunoch, an individual that never develops full sexual maturity. Often eunochs have been employed in harems. As late as the 19th century it was still the custom in Europe to use these soprano-voiced eunochs in cathedral choirs.

2.2394 Cultures that systematically encourage childbearing outside the optimum age range--either through child marriages, premarital sexual license or through situations which delay marriage until the early thirties--obviously subject their people to a dangerous prenatal environment which affects individuals and future populations as well.

2.2395 How hungry would you have to be before you willingly would eat insects and worms, or dog meat? In some cultures these are customary food items. Cultures frequently impose taboos or restrictions on certain foods. Most good Muslims are horrified at the thought of eating pork. Among some people in the Punjab, the newborn is not permitted to nurse for three days. Many infants in India are fed only milk until a particular religious ceremony is performed. This usually does not take place until the baby is at least six months old. Certain food limitations apply to Hindu widows as well. Such restrictions can limit the possibilities for adequate nutrition. An inadequate knowledge of environmental resources can do the same. During the European colonization of North America whole settlements actually starved while surrounded by edible foods.

2.2396 The ability to fashion clothing and housing of various kinds has permitted man to adapt to a surprising number of climatic conditions. Some cultures have the technical ability to control temperature and humidity in the places where people spend most of their time. This reduces the necessity for the body to make major biological adaptations to climate.

2.2397 Culture is closely bound to emotional factors. Life in any culture tends to create its own distinct type of stress to which the body reacts. American culture has developed a high standard of living, but it has also produced more ulcers than any other culture in the world. The intense competition of urban-industrial life tends to cause chronic anxiety, hostility and fear to which the endocrines respond. All cultures have devices which help counteract stress. Emotional tensions can be released through sports, through religion or even by blaming "witches" for unfortunate events.

Everywhere we look culture is touching the life processes. No culture on earth can ignore completely either the physical world or human biology. Each must deal with the same continuum, the same cycle that begins anew with each conception. It is man's unique biological equipment that makes him a cultured animal able to create his own environments and build diverse cultures out of the day to day experiences he shares with his fellows. This same biological equipment also restricts the kinds of environments man can create for himself, limiting the degree to which cultures can differ from one another.

Stages of the Life Cycle (2.3)

2.3001 Life proceeds from beginning to end without inherent stages or natural breaks in the process. Life is a continuum. But man does not think readily in continua. His complex brain gives him the capacity to systematize information which is unsurpassed. He has developed culture, language, and an impulse to organize his life experiences. Man is a chronic organizer. When he reflects on life's continuum, he begins mentally structuring it, carving it up into categories, dividing it into stages and labeling them.

2.3002 The organization of the continuum depends largely on the preoccupations of the organizer. A biologist might organize the life cycle into times of rapid and slow physical change. An educator might divide it into periods of formal and informal learning while an artist probably would conceive of the same sequence of events in still another way. Likewise, life in each culture is organized into broad divisions which are largely shaped by preoccupations in the culture.

2.3003 Every culture arranges life into a series of stages. The degree to which these periods are formally structured or explicitly recognized varies greatly within different cultures. Still, cultures usually have names for at least some of these periods or designations indicating a person's relative position to others in the life cycle.

2.3004 From culture to culture the stages vary considerably in length, number, and the type of behavior expected or considered appropriate for each. The behavior required in a particular culture during a certain period may coincide with what biology expects, but not necessarily. Sometimes cultural expectations even may conflict with the events and timing of biology. Cultural and biological demands are often related only in a very general way.

2.3005 Shakespeare wrote of the life cycle as a series of stages each of which had its own characteristic behavior:

> "...one man in his time plays many parts.
> His acts being seven ages. At first the infant
> Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms.
> Then the whining schoolboy with his satchel
> And shining morning face, creeping like a snail
> Unwillingly to school. Then the lover,
> Sighing like a furnace, with a woeful ballad
> Made to his mistress' eyebrow. Then a soldier,
> Full of strange oaths and bearded like a pard,
> Jealous in honor, sudden and quick in quarrel,
> Seeking the hubble reputation

E'en in the cannon's mouth. And then the justice,
In fair round belly with good capon lin'd,
With eyes severe and beard in formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances;
And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slippered pantaloon,
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side;
His youthful hose well sav'd, a world too wide
For his shrunk shrank, and his big manly voice
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound. Last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness and mere oblivion--
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything".

2.3006 If Shakespeare was accurate in his description, then we can say that his culture recognized seven loosely defined stages in life. Not all cultures recognize seven divisions, however. The Western Apache Indians recognize six which they refer to as "lives": babyhood, childhood, youth, young manhood or womanhood, middle age and old age. The Mesakin, an African culture of the central Sudan, emphasize only three: yate meaning life prior to sexual maturity, kaduma extending from sexual maturity to parenthood, and mede including all the years after the birth of the first child. Thus, in the last stage of Mesakin life, individuals who differ considerably in age and physical capabilities are culturally equated. This lumping of very diverse ages tends to create conflicts between cultural expectations and biological capacities which are felt acutely by individuals in Mesakin culture.

2.3007 Some cultures are so strict in their divisions of the life cycle that nearly every aspect of the culture seems to revolve around age. Such strict divisions have been given a special name by anthropologists -- Age Grades. They can be observed in highly developed form in many African cultures and in our own to a lesser extent. Age grading means that similarly aged individuals group themselves together and form close ties, sometimes closer than the ties of kinship. Among the Nyakyusa, an African people, age grades are so important that individuals of the same age leave their homes and form their own villages. Excluding the very young, the Nyakyusa do not live with or near relatives because age is the important consideration and not kin. In this African culture, one's position, his influence, the way he acts, and the way others treat him depend largely on how old he is and to which age grade he belongs. In American culture, particularly from birth through the school years, age is a very important basis for placing people into categories and expecting certain things of them. Consider the vast difference between individuals of 9 and those of 13. In our own culture, this mere four-year age separation entails striking difference in behavior. Yet the four years that separate 30 and 34 have very little cultural significance.

2.3008 The kind of behavior expected by a culture at different stages in the life cycle may require such a radical change in attitudes and actions that an individual becomes uncertain as to what actually is appropriate. To insure continuity and a minimum of confusion, an individual's passage from one stage to another usually is given special treatment by the culture. In some cultures, these transitions are marked by impressive rituals. Anthropologists refer to such ceremonies as "rites of passage". Among the Kpelle tribe of Liberia in West Africa, the attainment of full adulthood is marked clearly by initiation ceremonies that involve whole communities. Prior to this ceremony, the individual is considered less than adult and is treated accordingly. When the ceremony is completed, the person has entered a new stage in the life cycle--he is now an adult. When cultures clearly delineate their stages, there is little doubt as to how a person should be treated or how he is supposed to act at any time in life. In American culture, the transition from childhood to adult status is not clearly defined. Voting laws give one age. Draft laws give another, and the motor vehicle laws give still another. There is no clear separation between adulthood and the preceeding stage. Obviously, in this case, there is no "rite of passage" which compares with those existing in so many other cultures in the world.

2.3009 Despite the variety of ways that the life cycle is divided in different cultures, there are four broad stages which are very nearly universal. Recognized in some form by almost every culture as basic stages in life are *infancy*, *childhood*, *adulthood* and *old age*. Usually the transition from one stage to another occurs with little difficulty. In modern western cultures like the United States, however, the transition from childhood to adulthood is prolonged and ill defined creating the period known as *adolescence*.

Infancy is characterized by virtual helplessness and dependence on parents and older people. Infancy is followed by childhood, a stage featuring a gradual movement toward more and more independence. Then comes the period during which the mature individual is allowed to mate and establish a family. This is followed by old age, a time of declining cultural participation and increasing dependence on younger people. Every culture takes into account these basic age differences and deals with them. The transitions from one stage to another may vary considerably. They can be gradual or very abrupt. Sometimes they are marked with formal ritual, but not always. They can be painless or accompanied by great anxiety. The character of the transitions, like the stages, varies from culture to culture.

Infancy (2.301)

2.3011 An initial stage in the life cycle which can be termed infancy is recognized in all cultures. It is that early period of life when the dependence of the individual upon adults is virtually complete. It is the period during which many personality traits originate and basic attitudes toward self and the world are formed. Although this stage has no absolute limits, infancy usually lasts until the individual is weaned, is beginning to walk and talk, and is making his initial move toward independence.

2.3012 Life begins with conception and total dependence. A male cell unites with a female cell, creating new life which grows and is eventually born. This simple biological fact is widely known and unquestioned in our culture. There are, however, other views as to how life begins. This should not be surprising if one considers that many cultures have no established science of biology and no precise knowledge of human reproduction. Even in our own culture this knowledge is relatively new. There is still talk of storks in some circles. In the world at large, the belief in miraculous conception is common. The exact mechanism of paternity is rarely understood, and some cultures actually deny that the male plays any real part in the establishment of new life. The Trobriand Islanders, who inhabit a rather remote part of the world off the coast of New Guinea, view conception as the work of a dead clan member who enters the body of the female while she wades in a lagoon. The Arunta tribe of Australia holds that conception is caused by ancestral spirits, and these people will argue heatedly at any contrary opinion. Certain Hopi Indians believe that conception involves the direct reincarnation of a child who died before his full incorporation into adult culture. The Ashanti of West Africa think that conception is the result of a ghost child sent from the sky by a spirit mother. Most peoples in the world, however, have some vague idea of the nature of conception. There are very few flat denials that a male is needed to create new life.

2.3013 Conception results in pregnancy and a nine month gestation period after which the infant is born. The fact of pregnancy is recognized in concrete terms the world over. The visible signs of pregnancy would be very hard for any culture to explain away or ignore. These symptoms include enlargement of the abdomen and breasts, a tendency to decrease activity, an increased appetite, and an apparent craving for a variety of foods sometimes considered strange. If certain physical alterations are noted, an infant is expected and no further explanations are necessary. Since it is impossible to observe the actual development during pregnancy, some anxiety is inevitable concerning the normal progress of the expected offspring and the possibility and difficulty at birth. Consequently culture must deal with this anxiety, but each culture deals with it in its own way.

2.3014 Various physical symptoms are followed with great interest as pregnancy progresses. Our culture shows considerable concern for "morning sickness" and the craving for "strange" foods, whereas another culture might not consider these worth noting. Among the Azande of the African Sudan and the Tikopia of Polynesia, changes in the breasts are carefully noted. Many cultures are concerned only with the movements of the developing infant and follow these closely.

2.3015 Restrictions of all kinds are imposed on the expectant mother. Most of these practices have no biological or scientific foundation, but are simply folk custom and beliefs. The Jivaro Indian woman of South America must abstain from salt, sweet fruits, sugar cane, and palm cabbage. The Tongon woman of Polynesia is forbidden to cut anything with a knife lest the expected infant acquire some kind of deformity. The West African Ashanti woman may not look at any deformed thing for the infant may be affected and become deformed too. Some American women feel that fright also produces deformity or birthmarks. In many cultures the expectant mother is required to live apart from other people in a hut of her own at some distance from her family and friends. In our own culture, pregnancy usually involves a routine of diet, pills, exercise, and regular visits to the doctor.

2.3016 A widespread custom through which culture deals with the expectant father is the couvade. During pregnancy the father may be subject to many restrictions. He may even take to his confinement bed at the birth of the infant and remain in isolation for some time. Thus he recovers from the effects of birth while the mother is up and about her business. Some of the places where the couvade can be observed include: East Asia, the Pyrenees , parts of South America, and the plateau region of aboriginal North America. It is practiced among such groups as the Shoshone Indians, the Ainus of Japan, and the Chinese of Marco Polo's time. No doubt in our own culture expectant fathers have felt the need to be given something to do at birth besides pace the floor of a hospital waiting room. The couvade is one of the ways that culture copes with expectant fathers and the crisis of birth.

2.3017 If nothing goes wrong, birth occurs naturally when the nine month gestation period is complete. Birth is never an easy process. Frequently it is long, hard and painful. This is true in all parts of the world despite the common myth that birth is relatively effortless in more primitive cultures.

2.3018 Everywhere the actual scene of birth stands in sharp contrast to the period of pregnancy. While pregnancy is surrounded by precautionary rituals and practices, culture has very little to add to the moment of birth. The mother and those present proceed with the serious business at hand without further ceremony. Birth usually takes place in seclusion with only a few elderly women present. Men are generally excluded. The father and other interested persons may participate in the birth at a distance with various prescribed rituals. If the birth is unduly difficult, a male specialist of some kind may be called in to give assistance. More often, however, birth is strictly a woman's affair. In our culture, of course, birth usually takes place in a hospital and generally is officiated over by an obstetrician who is usually a man.

2.3019 The posture of a woman during birth varies considerably throughout the world. Sitting, kneeling and squatting positions are all common. Even standing is not unknown among some cultural groups, as among the Tarahumara Indians of Chihuahua, Mexico. The prone or lying position customary in our culture is somewhat unnatural from a biological point of view. Its main advantage is that it facilitates close supervision of the birth by those in charge.

2.3020 At birth, the human infant is utterly helpless, dependent and able to survive only through adult care. As yet relatively untouched by his culture, his needs and responses are very much like many other animals. Immediately following birth, both mother and infant are exhausted and vulnerable to a variety of potential dangers, a major one being infection. This period of time, like pregnancy, is subject to much cultural attention. The mother and infant usually are kept in isolation for a while. Frequently dietary restrictions are enforced, and there are many limitations placed on activity. Purification ceremonies are common during this period. The Shoshone Indian mother and infant were isolated for forty days in a special house well away from camp. During this period, the mother was required to lie each day on a bed of grass suspended over hot coals. She also observed strict dietary restrictions and inactivity. In our own culture, mother and infant are kept isolated in a hospital. Often the new born can be seen only through a glass window until this period has ended.

2.3021 An important event often occurring shortly after birth is naming. The nameless infant is frequently not considered a full member of the community. Some cultures permit infanticide before naming because without a name the infant may not be considered a person. Usually a name is given by parents or relatives at some kind of ceremony which marks the formal presentation of the infant to his community. Only rarely is a name given before or at birth. Although infants in our culture are named at birth, the religious rite of baptism or christening can be viewed as a kind of formal name-giving ceremony wherein a Christian name is given in front of witnesses. Thus the infant formally becomes a member of the community, in this instance the religious community. All cultures view the naming of an infant with gravity although the actual nature of the ceremony varies considerably around the world.

2.3022 A major concern after a birth is caring for the newborn. Infant care is a full time job. Minimally, he must be fed, kept reasonably comfortable, warm, clean and dry. Culture meets these and other needs in a variety of ways. While the mother is the primary figure in early infant care, she is frequently helped by her mother, mother-in-law, sisters or older children. The nursing bottle has been an important though not always desirable innovation, further relieving the mother from the time-consuming task of infant care.

2.3023 A reasonable amount of mobility for the mother is assured by such devices as the carrying shawl and the portable cradle. Many people use a cradle board on which the infant is tightly swaddled or strapped. The cradle board is in turn strapped to the mother's back, allowing her freedom of movement while keeping the infant with her at all times. This is distinctly an advantage in cultures, such as the Eskimo, where women are economically indispensible for even a short time. When at home, the mother may simply hang both cradle board and infant on the nearest peg or nail. In modern Israel, women have been freed almost entirely from infant care. State nurseries with professional staffs care for children, thereby freeing both parents for other work.

2.3024 The custom of swaddling requires the infant to be tightly wrapped in cloth or some other material, so that it cannot move its body or limbs freely. This custom is found in Pakistan, Russia, Eastern Europe and in several other areas of the world, though not always in connection with cradle boards. Many reasons are given for this practice. Infants are said to be swaddled for warmth, for comfort, to keep them from harming themselves, or to make their limbs grow straight. Polish peoples feel that it toughens the infant to discomfort him thus, preparing him for the hard life ahead. In contrast, Pueblo Indian babies have been observed crying to be swaddled and returned to the comfort of their cradle boards. Contrary to opinion in our culture, swaddling does not seem to harm an infant or retard its development. Recent evidence suggests that the swaddled infant actually develops faster and stronger. Swaddling seems to encourage the infant to push against its tight wrapper, apparently a very efficient kind of exercise. Our culture only recently has rediscovered the value of such isometric activity.

2.3025 Possibly the first step in the long process of becoming an independent member of a culture is weaning. Weaning is not something that occurs automatically. As with all mammals, dependence of the infant on his mother for nourishment is not simply outgrown but is a habit which must be forcibly broken, often by rather drastic means. In our culture infants are weaned or taken off the nursing bottle quite early. In many cultures, however, weaning commonly takes place during the second or third year of life or after the individual is walking and talking. By this time, he has begun to eat a variety of foods and is acquainted with children who have already been weaned.

2.3026 There are several ways to wean an infant. Frequently he is simply separated from his mother for a time in hopes that he will adjust to the deprivation and forget about nursing. An extended visit with grandparents may serve this purpose. Punishment is used sometimes although this can apparently have serious emotional consequences for the developing individual in those cultures which practice it. Possibly the gentlest method of all combines persistance with various forms of distraction which gradually help break the habit.

The Transition to Childhood (2.303)

2.3031 In most cultures the end of infancy corresponds closely with weaning. Around this time the mother withdraws from her offspring, ending the close attachment and extreme indulgences to his wishes. Discipline and restraint are applied increasingly. The transition can be quite abrupt, especially if a new infant has entered the picture. In many cultures the child is turned over to older children or perhaps sent away for an uncle to rear. Although the transition may be gradual, it is not usually pleasant since it is always necessary to prod and force the individual through the required changes. New ways of behaving are demanded, and any continuation of infantile behavior is discouraged. This transition is usually handled informally. Only rarely is it marked by a formal "rite of passage", as was the case among the ancient Inca of Peru. When completed, it means a new stage and a new and different kind of relationship between the individual and his culture.

Childhood (2.304)

2.3041 With weaning accomplished, the next broad stage in the life cycle begins. This new stage--childhood--lasts until the individual is considered by his culture to be an adult, capable of full and responsible participation in the culture and ready for children of his own. The early part of childhood is characterized by continued dependence on adults for survival, but also by slowly increasing independence. Between the ages of twelve and fifteen the individual matures biologically and becomes capable of reproduction. In the case of man, biological maturity rarely coincides with cultural maturity and adulthood. A biologically mature individual rarely is considered an adult by his culture. This usually comes later, and in our own culture it is much later for reasons which soon will become apparent.

2.3042 Man does not live by instinct as other animals do. Culture, not instinct, is man's primary means of survival, and this culture must be learned and learned anew by each successive generation. The process by which an individual learns his culture is called enculturation. Although it is a life-long process which is never complete, the most vital and active period of enculturation is the stage of relative dependence which has been termed childhood. In a complex urban-industrial culture such as ours, childhood and dependence are extended far beyond biological maturity. In a simpler culture, where less information is needed for survival, biological maturity and cultural maturity may almost coincide. The length of childhood varies from culture to culture, depending largely on the kind and amount of information the individual must learn in order to function with competence as an adult member of his culture.

2.3043 Enculturation initially involves learning cultural fundamentals. The individual learns how to act in various basic situations, gradually mastering the forms of conduct that are acceptable to his culture. As enculturation progresses, these fundamentals become routine--a part of everyday life. The acceptable ways of behaving are learned so well that the individual does not have to stop and think about them. They seem natural to him and are thus said to be internalized. But as cultures differ so the subject matter of enculturation differs. The things that seem "natural" really depend on where a person was born and which culture he has learned.

2.3044 Enculturation is not spontaneous. All cultures have certain methods for communicating cultural information to the young. Observe, for example, parents in our culture with a young child. They give him many hours of attention, rejoicing over his every success with walking or talking. The child is taught to conform to the conventional forms of eating, dressing, sleeping, and bathing. The parents favorable reactions to the child's successes and unfavorable reactions to his mistakes encourage him to learn more and more of his culture and what is expected of him. Praise, ridicule, shame, physical punishment, fear--these are but a few of the many devices used in various cultures to encourage enculturation.

2.3045 The parents and kin are the initial instruments of enculturation. The parents concentrate primarily on teaching the child many of his basic skills; and of course, a child's toilet training is a difficult task that every culture demands. The grandparents often play a large part in transmitting traditional beliefs, values, and morals.

2.3046 The peer group is an important source of knowledge. When a child plays with friends and associates of his own age he learns many valuable things about his culture, including some things that he might not learn at all if he associated only with adults. Through games he may learn physical skills and coordination, as well as many of his culture's values, standards and attitudes.

2.3047 Play is not just an idle time filler. It is important in the enculturation process, providing many situations in which more of the culture can be learned. Girls play with dolls and act out the adult roles they will be expected to fill someday. In America, playing with toy cars, trains and chemistry sets introduce some of the things useful in adult occupations. Eskimo boys have toy spears and weapons which they learn to use, sometimes killing small animals. Thus, through imitation of adults, they are actually training for the day when they will go out as adults and provide for their own families.

2.3048 Helping around the home is also a source of training and learning. When the Arunta of Australia build a hut, everyone in the family helps. The women and children gather sticks and grass while the father builds the framework and finally puts the hut together. In this way the children learn to build the houses they will someday build for their own families. American children often help around the house by washing dishes, mowing lawns, painting walls or caring for younger brothers and sisters. They are learning skills they will need in the future as adults. Generally, American boys must learn most of their occupational skills outside the home because in more complex cultures, such as ours, work and home are separated. Farm boys, however, still can learn many of their basic skills at home.

2.3049 Stories and myths are another method of transmitting cultural information to the young. Children in America absorb much of their culture through children's books, traditional bedtime stories, and even television. Although simpler cultures may not have books and television, traditional beliefs are transmitted through oral literature and legend to each succeeding generation.

2.3050 Enculturation in America involves not only these informal learning situations but a long period of formal education as well. In a modern urban-industrial culture, the total body of knowledge is extremely large. This necessitates a system of schools with specialists to dispense knowledge. Although formal education is generally a characteristic of complex cultures, it is not entirely lacking in simpler ones. In many simple groups the rituals that mark the attainment of adulthood are preceded by a period of intense formal instruction during which the individual is thoroughly grounded in the mythology, values, and customs of the group.

2.3051 As cultures differ, so does the content of enculturation and the length of childhood. Before adulthood is attained, the individual must accept and adjust, at least minimally, to the expectations of his culture. He must have the knowledge, skills and values needed to function successfully and to make acceptable judgements. In other words, the individual must internalize enough to meet the culture's definition of maturity. Only then can the transition to adulthood be made.

The Transition to Adulthood (2.306)

2.3061 The transition from childhood to adulthood may be difficult, fraught with indecision, or can be accomplished quite smoothly. As childhood progresses, an individual's age mates tend to become increasingly important to him. They are both important agents of enculturation and major sources of identity and approval. An individual and his peers tend to form a close-knit group. Age group affiliations, kin relationships and adult associations all demand loyalty from each individual. In simple cultures these three demands do not necessarily conflict, since membership in the three groups often overlaps. In other words, many age mates and adults in the culture are also kinsmen. In his age group the individual learns to obey, accept and assume authority, as well as to cooperate with equals and other members of the community.

2.3062 During the latter part of childhood these peer groups are oriented specifically toward the attainment of adult status. Often within these groups, young people seek the right to legitimate sexual experience, economic independence and recognition of themselves as adults. The age group, then, is frequently the culturally approved vehicle through which adulthood is attained. It may be an integral part of the culture, having the full cooperation of family, kin and adults in general. This indicates a close communication between generations,as evidenced in Russia and Israel, where state-sponsored youth groups form the context within which adulthood is conferred by the culture. In the United States, college fraternities and other similar organizations help provide a framework through which individuals learn to function as middle class adults.

2.3063 In simpler cultures, individuals of the same age may be guided as a group quite rapidly across a clear line, beyond which lies full adulthood. This may be accomplished by certain set procedures and ceremonies. These "rites of passage" take many forms and usually encompass three distinct phases. First, the individual is "separated" from the old and familiar. An African child, for example, may be taken from his home to attend a rigorous Bush School where he or she learns about the mysteries of adult life. The Pygmy child is required to ridicule in public the childish things he was permitted only yesterday. The second phase involves the "symbolic death" of the individual in his former status of child. For a brief time he is neither child nor adult. He may be painted black or partially buried as part of this ritual death. During the third phase the individual is reincorporated into his new adult status. He may be allowed to wear various symbols or badges formerly denied or forbidden him. He may be tatooed or decorated to signify that he is now an adult, and expected to participate in all the economic, social and political responsibilities attached to that status.

2.3064 In many cultures, however, the transition to adulthood is not so smooth as this idealized picture above would suggest. In reality, the process may be very complicated, particularly in more complex cultures. In many cultures, for example, an adult is an individual who has children. In such a culture someone with no children, even if he or she is 40 years old, may be considered to be less than adult. To a limited extent this was the case with unmarried American women though this situation has been changing rapidly in recent years.

2.3065 In Ireland and many other countries, the oldest son may inherit everything at the death of his father. This custom is known as primogeniture. The adult status of this son is assured since an adult is one who is married, has property and a family. But often he may be past 40 before this is possible. The other children, unless they move away or join the army or priesthood, have even less opportunity for an early recognition of their maturity. Land is limited in Ireland. There is little chance of acquiring property except through inheritance. Since this is an agricultural country, one can easily see the difficulties faced by a second or third son of an Irish farmer.

2.3066 Where rapid culture change is present, the transition to adulthood may be extremely difficult. Such cultural changes may create a gap between generations caused when young people reject the old ways that their parents offer them. This can be seen in places like Africa which is changing drastically under the influences of Western culture. It can also be seen in the United States which is undergoing considerable internal change as technical knowledge increases. It can be seen among the children of immigrants who are caught between the ways of their parents and the demands of the new cultural environment. For this reason children of immigrants have always had many difficulties in growing up.

2.3067 The United States provides example after example of the difficulties of attaining adulthood. So many factors in our culture seem to conspire to create ambiguities. The United States has a complex and highly technical culture. Successful adult life requires that young people remain dependent and in school for many years after biological maturity. Adulthood is therefore delayed for a long time. As the years of this prolonged childhood pass, the individual may be confronted with many conflicting demands on his loyalty. Since he usually is economically dependent on his parents, they expect obedience and childlike submission. But when he is childishly troublesome he is immediately told to "grow up" by members of the adult world. In addition, his age mates also demand his loyalty. he is suspended between childhood and adulthood with no clear definitions of either.

2.3068 American culture has never been very ritualistic. This is partly a result of the Protestant tradition and partly the democratic concept of facing crises in a matter of fact way. Perhaps this helps to account for why there are few rituals in American culture to dramatize and define the attainment of adult status. The few instances of ceremony one could name--such as graduation from school or a 21st-birthday do not seem to be very decisive in defining an individual's status in American culture. In contrast, many other cultures never leave an individual wondering about his situation. Through ritual his status is made perfectly clear.

2.3069 In American culture, peer group associations frequently do not prepare the individual very well for adult life. In college fraternities, for example, many things are learned about middle class American life. However, when college days are over, an individual's first job and first real look at the stark reality of the business world can be quite a shock. He may feel very unprepared and experience serious personal difficulties for a while.

2.3070 Sometimes for various reasons a vast gulf develops and separates the generations in a culture. Communication and continuity may break down completely. Youth groups may rebel against the adult world and the established order. There may be a total rejection of adult standards and old ways. Sometimes these youth groups develop a strong internal organization independent of adults. Since these groups have little connection with the adult world, they cannot confer adult status in the culture. Ambiguity and strain between generations may reach the breaking point. We can see this phenomenon in the 19th century German youth movement and to some extent in some of the youth groups in American culture. The Hippies and Hell's Angels, for example, might fit this category.

2.3071 Transition difficulties can occur also when an individual is isolated for some reason from young people his own age. A frontier life can sometimes isolate a person and prevent frequent contact with age mates. A large city sometimes can isolate a person from his peers. An older child may be loaded with responsibility for younger children to such an extent that such isolation results. Since the isolated individual has only his parents to learn from and imitate, there may be many aspects of adult life for which he is not prepared. He may never learn to participate in the culture like other adults of his generation when the time comes for him to fully accept the responsibilities and privileges attached to that status.

2.3072 These are only a few examples of the possible difficulties of passing from childhood to adulthood. Difficulty, however, is not a universal characteristic of the transition. It is most common in modern industrial cultures that this transition is a time of storm, conflict, uncertainty and stress. Since this difficult time correlates only very vaguely, if at all, with pubescent changes, it can be considered a cultural phenomenon and not a biological one. In our culture, the term generally used to identify the transition is adolescence. Here it is almost by definition a "problem period", and is one of the most discussed and written about times in the American life cycle. It is a mistake, however, to extend the term to other cultures without some qualification. The transition to adulthood is not everywhere a "problem" by any means.

Adulthood (2.308)

2.3081 We have seen that young people striving for adulthood have several overiding concerns. They want the right to economic independence, to legitimate sexual experiences, and to the status and power which is due adult members of a culture. Adulthood brings all these things. Adulthood means the right to participate fully in the responsibilities and privileges of a culture. Above all, it means marriage, parenthood and family. The various activities of adult life revolve around the family which provides the context for such participation. The family is a kind of home base out of which the individual operates in the adult world.

2.3082 From a biological point of view, we can say that persons of the opposite sex pair off, mate under the influence of the sex drive, and produce offspring much as other animals do. Even among non-human animals, a degree of permanence can be seen in the association of the mated pair. Because of the prolonged dependence of human infants, culture attempts to regulate this association to insure that offspring are cared for. Marriage is one of the ways this is accomplished.

2.3083 Marriage formally establishes the mutual rights and obligations of the mated pair and their children. It establishes a stable environment wherein the care and enculturation of the new generation may proceed with efficiency. It establishes an economic unit wherein various tasks are allotted to different individuals, thus establishing a higher degree of economic effectiveness. Marriages also link two families, thereby extending the social ties of each, binding them together with mutual responsibilities and obligations. In all cultures, nearly everyone marries and numerous restrictions govern the way that this is done.

2.3084 In many cultures, premarital sexual experimentation is approved of and is considered a test of compatibility before the pair actually enters into marriage with all its responsibilities. In our culture, this is not true, and premarital sexual experience is disapproved of.

2.3085 All cultures have rigorous prohibitions regarding who one may not marry. These prohibitions are frequently called incest taboos. The most common variety are those taboos forbidding mating or marriage between members of an immediate family. Brother and sister marriages usually are forbidden but there are some exceptions, notably in ancient Egypt and among the Inca of South America. In these cases, royalty was considered divine and it was not permitted for them to marry mere mortals. Certain kinds of cousins are frequently forbidden as marriage partners but this is highly variable even in our own culture. Some states forbid by law the marriage of individuals whose kin tie is closer than a fourth cousin but other states are not so strict.

2.3086 We can see that incest taboos exclude certain categories of kin from an individual's range of marriage choices. But even beyond these limits very few cultures leave the choice of a mate entirely up to the individuals involved. In this respect the American custom of individual choice is very unusual. In most cultures marriage is arranged by families and is largely an alliance between two families, and not just between two persons.

2.3087 Man is not necessarily a monogamous animal. Some cultures, including ours, are monogamous and permit only marriages between one man and one woman at a time. Many cultures, however, allow polygamy or multiple spouses. If a culture permits a man to have more than one wife at a time, it is a polygynous marriage. Much rarer is polyandry, the marriage of one woman to several husbands.

2.3088 Despite the cultural need for stability in marriage, it is rarely a life long arrangement. In simpler cultures, marriages are usually brittle, and it is relatively easy for either partner to dissolve the ties. Among the Zuni and Hopi Indians of the American Southwest, a woman can divorce her husband by setting his belongings outside the door. In contrast, it is much more difficult for individuals in our own culture and in most cultures of the western world to do the same. One reason for this has been already discussed. Our culture is extremely complex and requires a longer period for the enculturation of the young. Therefore, a stable family is necessary for a longer period of time and formal legal measures have been established to help prevent the breaking of marriage bonds.

2.3089 The tendency for some cultures to de-emphasize the immediate or nuclear family, giving importance to a larger family group, has conflicting influences on family stability. This larger family unit may include uncles or aunts, grandparents and cousins. It may be the most important economic and social unit in the culture. In such families, a whole line of relatives live and work together as a unit, and any one child may be cared for by all. In Hawaii before the missionaries intruded, there was no distinction between cousins and siblings. A child was not confined to one set of parents, but had many. In such a case, children are not necessarily affected adversely by the actions of their biological parents. The stability of the marriage bond is less important in this respect. However, both economic and social ties to a larger unit make the ultimate decision for divorce a problem affecting a much larger group of people. In some cases this tends to restrict the number of divorces.

2.3090 Regardless of whether or not marriages have temporal stability, most cultures do not prevent a divorced individual from remarrying. Thus, it is usually within the framework of a family setting that adults play their assigned parts in the economic, political, religious and social life of the culture until advancing years bar their full participation.

The Transition to Old Age (2.310)

2.3101 Biologically, aging is that inevitable process that characterizes the closing years of the life cycle. It is a fact of life that after a number of years, vigor and resistance to disease decline steadily until something kills us. The body moves slowly past its prime. Physical decline begins to restrict normal activity, resulting in decreased cultural participation. Life began with dependency and with aging there is a gradual return to it.

2.3102 But how old is "old"? Biology alone does not answer this question. There is no set age and no physical condition that automatically marks the beginning of Old Age. All cultures recognize such a stage and define it differently from prior stages of the life cycle. Old Age can begin early or late. Its approach sometimes is resented and disparaged. Most Americans do not look forward to old age. The Hopi believe one should not think about it. But in some cultures it is welcomed and treasured, as among the Bantu tribes of Kenya, Africa. The Australian Aborigines are sometimes described as gerontocratic because as age increases so does power and prestige. Thus in some cultures people try to "hurry up' aging while in others it is denied and postponed to fantastic degrees.

2.3103 The transition to Old Age in American culture is rather vague. We force an abrupt economic retirement at 65 but this is not considered particularly old, especially by the person who retires. A person 55 is "not old" but a person 85 is. The passage from the one point to the other obviously is not well defined. This ambiguity and uncertainty about the particulars of reaching the final stage of American life may well equal the transition to adulthood. Advancing years bring "problems" which are in many ways similar to those of adolescence.

2.3104 In Hindu India the transition to Old Age is theoretically well marked and clear. Individuals should be prepared for the change. They are supposed to withdraw from the distractions of everyday life. A ceremony or ritual may mark a person's formal retirement from the world. He then should spend his last years in voluntary poverty, seclusion, and religious meditation, pursuing things of the spirit. This, however, often does not occur in practice. Still, the approach of Old Age in India is valued as it is associated with respect. This contrasts markedly with the attitude found in America and many western cultures where the old often feel they are a useless burden.

Old Age. (2.320)

2.3201 Old Age is viewed in many different ways around the world. It may be considered idle and useless, or active and fruitful. It may bring increases in prestige and position, or demotions and scorn. It may drag itself out in dull tedium, or it may pass swiftly, full of rich experiences. It may be viewed as the best of times or the worst of times, depending on the culture in which a person grows old.

2.3202 Old people everywhere have concerns and preoccupations which are somewhat similar. They desire to live as long as possible, or at least until life's satisfactions no longer compensate for its privations, or until the advantages of death outweigh the burdens of life. Old people everywhere are concerned with this. They also desire release from humdrum tasks and protection from the hazards they can no longer ward off themselves. They are concerned with safeguarding their privileges, possessions, and seniority rights, and with remaining active even when they cannot. Finally, they desire to withdraw from life and die when the time comes as honorably and comfortably as possible, with maximal prospects for an attractive hereafter whenever this is a part of their beliefs.

2.3203 Many special problems of adjustment can confront the elderly person in any culture. Lengthening the life span through diet and medicine brings no real escape from them. Old people in America increasingly are isolated and left out of things. We keep adding to the life-span but give them very little else to do but feel useless and out of place. Adding to the number of old people, as we have done in American culture, can pose serious problems not only for the elderly but for the younger and more active members of the culture as well. The financial burden is only one of these.

2.3204 In some cultures, the elderly person may retain some of his former power and prestige, particularly if he is able to keep his economic resources. This was the case with the individualistic Yurok tribes of Northern California, where property and prestige were almost synonymous. This also may be the case if the culture deifies the dead like the Chinese, believing that ancestors in some way actively influence the affairs of the living for better or worse. Since the aged person will obviously soon be an ancestor, this belief may insure him continued good treatment and a respected position in the culture throughout old age.

2.3205 More often the prestige of an older person suffers severely once he relinquishes energetic economic controls and no longer has children to rear and train. Retirement may be very difficult in fact. In modern western cultures this is particularly true because a person's position in the culture largely depends on the job that he has. When he is forced to retire at a certain age, he no longer has a real place in the culture. He is left out of things almost completely, particularly since modern families are usually quite independent of their elderly relatives. The old person is left in a state of confusion and isolation, and this situation is intensified by our culture's extreme orientation toward youth. American culture idealizes youth and forces old people to retire. Yet, ironically, a certain amount of work and activity apparently delays the aging process. The older person usually is faced with withering prestige and a decreasingly active part in the culture. Sometimes, partial compensation is found in religion as in India.

2.3206 In some cultures old people who can no longer actively participate are either left alone to die or allowed to kill themselves. For example, food-gathering peoples whose existence depends on regular movement and unhampered mobility from place to place may sometimes desert their old people. They leave them behind when they no longer can travel with the group. This is never done harshly nor arbitrarily. It is a last resort, and is always a difficult decision to make. Among certain Eskimos, suicide by old people is admired greatly. In hard times, the elderly may do so willingly, knowing that their death will perhaps mean that younger members of the group can live.

2.3207 Death is the inevitable end of the life cycle, and though it is commonplace and occurs often enough, nowhere in the world is it taken lightly or ignored. The dead must be dealt with. The custom of burying the dead in the ground is very old and goes back at least to the Paleolithic Age and Neanderthal Man over 30,000 years ago. In many cultures the dead are buried in well-kept cemeteries. Ground burial, in some form, is the most common method of disposing of the dead. Less often, bodies are placed in tombs and burial niches, as in Egypt where they were also mummified and surrounded with offerings. Cremation always has been a favorite method and Hindu India is noted for this. Some cultures simply place the body on a raised platform of some sort and leave it for the vultures or other scavengers. There are of course many means of disposing of the dead depending on the customs and traditions of the particular culture involved.

2.3208 Death is viewed in many ways, but it is rare to find death viewed as absolute or final. Most cultures, and indeed nearly all simpler cultures, believe in some sort of after-life. But since the dead are no longer around or seen in everyday life, an invisible spirit world usually is postulated. In this other world the dead are believed to reside, and sometimes to influence either directly or indirectly the affairs of the living.

2.3209 The disposal of the dead is nearly always accompanied by a ritual or ceremony. The form of the ritual varies but in all cultures it functions in several ways. It prepares those yet living for eventual death by helping to establish the emotional outlook necessary to face it. A death creates a gap, a discontinuity in the culture, and this ritual helps the community to readjust from this gap. The richness and color of ritual are very important in such times of crisis. Frequently funerals involve feasting and a redistribution of the wealth accumulated by the deceased. Finally, funeral ritual nearly always is believed to be of some help in guiding the dead through the difficult transition to a new life in the hereafter. With this final ritual, the life cycle is over but it will be repeated again and again with each new member of the culture, from generation to generation.

Summary (2.4)

2.401 Before proceeding to the case studies, it would be profitable to summarize briefly the ground we have covered thus far in the unit. In the Introduction, first, the concept of life cycle as viewed by anthropologists was presented. The rationale for teaching the life cycle to the seventh grade was explained and an indication of the wide range significance the unit can have was outlined. Second, the anthropological point of view was introduced and its fundamental concepts examined. The anthropological approach was shown to be a fruitful base from which to study the life cycle. Finally, the main techniques for studying the life cycle and the various ways anthropologists have used life cycle data were outlined.

2.402 In the section entitled The Life Cycle, biological changes and various factors which can influence the course of events in the human life cycle were described. The importance of cultural factors was stressed. The fact was pointed out that within the context of each culture, different events occuring during the life cycle may be considered of special importance and treated in a characteristic way. It was shown that this produces a sequence of stages in the biological continuum of the human life cycle that varies from culture to culture. These culturally defined stages may have little or no relation to biological events. Despite variations which appear in the number and treatment of these stages in different cultures, nearly every culture recognizes in some form at least four divisions in the life cycle--infancy, childhood, adulthood, and old age. Adolescence was shown to be a characteristic of cultures having a long period of discrepancy between biological and cultural maturity and not a feature common to all cultures. It has been pointed out also, that at each stage in life, an individual stands in a particular relationship to his culture that differs significantly from that which preceeded it. The meaning of these stages and the transitions that separate them were discussed in detail, drawing examples from many different cultural groups.

2.403 With this background in mind, we can now turn to more specific examples, adding to our understanding by tracing the course of individual lives in detail through four different cultures. These specific life cycles are presented in the case studies which follow.

THE CASE STUDIES (3.0)

Introduction to the Case Studies (3.1)

3.101 The case studies have been chosen to represent four different kinds of cultural units from four different parts of the world: the Balkan peasant, Chinese civilization, the Nigerian Tiv of the Guinea Coast, and Modern Western Industrial Civilization. Not only do the groups selected to represent these areas depict different ways of fulfilling the fundamental requirements of the life cycle, but they also illustrate a number of ideas concerning the concept of culture.

3.102 The Serbian villagers, who represent the Balkan peasants, divide the life cycle into explicit stages. The Chinese move from one stage to another in the life cycle only after the family acquires a critical new member. The Tiv, on the other hand, do not view positions in the life cycle as absolute, but compare one individual with another in a given situation. Americans find their life cycle separated into a variety of stages and sub-stages, some of which are ill defined in regard to associated duties and privileges.

3.103 By now it is obvious that the concept of culture may be used in a variety of ways. When an anthropologist talks about culture he may mean the total of man's learned experience. This idea of culture includes the ways of life of all peoples who have ever lived anywhere on the face of the earth. However, such a definition of culture is useful only in a very limited sense, as the most important characteristic that sets man apart from other animals. It is too large a unit for any detailed study. If the anthropologists want to study about culture, it is necessary for him to look at some smaller part of man's learned experience. He may look at a single group of people exhibiting a single way of life, or a limited geographic area where people have certain things in common. The anthropologist uses the concept of culture to refer to all of these situations. Each illustrates a way of life. Culture in its broadest sense is the way of life common to all men. Culture in its narrowest usage may mean the way of life practiced by only a very small number of people. Each aspect of the concept of culture helps to understand different things about the way man lives and views himself.

Culture in Geographic Terms (3.11)

3.110 Sometimes an anthropologist talks about CULTURE AREAS. These are geographic regions where people have more in common with one another than they have with neighboring groups. This results from a combination of intergroup contact and similar environmental conditions. Culture areas have no set boundaries like nations. One area often blends into the next. In this sense they are not real units, but arbitrary divisions based on cultural similarity and geographic proximity.

3.111 A Single Group to Represent a Culture Area. The study of the Balkans as seen through a Serbian village illustrates one aspect of the culture area approach. Since the Balkan countries tend to have much of their history and life style in common, it is possible to learn something about the region as a whole by studying a single village. The culture area concept implies that if you were to go and live in a Balkan village until you were very familiar with the way of life there, it would be possible for you to live in similar villages throughout the area with relative ease. You would find more things familiar to you than you would find totally strange, just as, presumably, it would be easier for you to feel more at home almost anywhere in the United States or Canada than if you were to move to Spain or Ceylon.

3.112 A Generalized Account to Represent a Culture Area. Different anthropologists may stress different aspects of culture when they establish a culture area. Some may emphasize similarities in actual behavior or material culture. Others may stress the importance of underlying belief systems and ideal behavior. These would tend to divide China into at least three separate culture areas. Every anthropologist tries to include both as best he can. The study of life in China illustrates how belief systems and ideal behavior can act as a unifying force in culture. China's great tradition, inspite of the variety of local practices and customs, has permitted the Chinese to see themselves as having a common heritage. It has been to this great tradition that the majority of the Chinese for generations have looked for principles to guide their lives. These principles have helped to produce a common core of behavior inspite of regional differences. Even during the present period of rapid change these ideals still serve as a unifying force, now, not always to be followed, but something that needs common effort to change.

3.1131 A Specific Culture. The study of the Tiv illustrates the use of the concept of culture as it is applied to a single group and a single way of life occupying a limited geographic region. In learning about the Tiv, the primary aim is not to discover something about the larger areas of Nigeria, the Guinea Coast or Africa, but to see how one tribal group, the Tiv themselves, live and think. This obviously is a very different purpose from that undertaken in studying the Serbian village. The concern is not to find the aspects of a lifestyle that are common to a culture area, but to come to understand a single group in all its uniqueness. This does not deny that it is still possible to learn something about the culture in the larger geographical areas to which the individual group may belong.

3.1132 The Tiv, unlike the Chinese, have no long written history, nor did they have any real consciousness of being Nigerian or African until very recently. They looked upon themselves as "the people" and were not concerned seriously with a wider identity. Therefore, it is fitting for us to study them as a representative of a culture in a local group. This is in keeping with the Tiv's view of themselves. Any further generalization to a larger area would be the construct of the anthropologist alone.

3.114 A Generalized Account of a Complex Region to Represent a Culture Area. The final case study uses culture to refer to a large region of a still larger culture area. American culture, perhaps, is understood best as a part of the culture of the modern industrial west.

Culture in Structural Terms (3.12)

3.120 All anthropologists do not discuss culture in terms of geography. Some view culture in terms of structure. These anthropologists find it meaningful to group together cultures from all over the world that have certain characteristics in common. They often use three major kinds of features in their classification: 1) type of basic economy, 2) dominant form of social relationships, and 3) degree of specialization. As in the case of culture areas, the specific criteria used to set up structural categories may not always be the same. Likewise, the varieties of man's cultural behavior does not lend themselves easily to classification in discrete units, for man is able to combine and recombine aspects of his culture in an infinite number of ways. The case studies illustrate four of the more commonly used structural categories of culture.

3.121 Peasants. The dominant life style in the Balkans is pre-industrial and rural exemplifying the peasant way of life. People practice subsistance agriculture or other simple rural occupations. They farm their own land with pride and attachment. The family and kin group are the most important social units. Although peasants are usually without class stratification, they form a low status unit in a larger population of which they are a segment. They are neither politically nor economically independent and maintain a varying degree of contact with urban centers. Their overall amount of specialization is moderate. They support few full-time specialists, and some part-time specialists, but division of labor still occurs primarily according to age and sex.

3.122 Civilization. Civilization requires sufficient economic sophistication to support a large variety of full time specialists.

This means efficient agricultural techniques, but it may not mean large industrial centers. Nonkin affiliations become at least as important as kin affiliations and often exceed them in activities related to employment, residence, recreation, politics, and some aspects of education. Specialization occurs in all areas. The population is characterized by social stratification. Political control is formalized and an efficient system of communication must be maintained. This almost always requires a written language. These features are found in Chinese culture.

3.1231 Tribes. The Tiv as they exist today are not the most perfect example of a tribal culture. However, as communication systems improve, and national governments become interested in the more isolated members of their populations, the chances of finding a fully tribal people become more and more difficult.

3.1232 A tribal people should be almost entirely isolated and have complete political autonomy. This is no longer possible for the Tiv. First colonial administration and now governmental policies have influenced their way of life from time to time. Ideally, tribes are local kinship groups bound together with little or no formal political structure. They are groups which share a common language and a distinct culture. Their economy is often based in hunting, gathering or fishing, less commonly, in some form of subsistance agriculture or animal husbandry. Social relations are informal and kinship oriented. Specialization within a tribe is based almost exclusively on age and sex. Although nominally classified as a tribal people, the Tiv have some nontribal characteristics and clearly illustrate the problem of establishing any rigid system for the classification of cultures.

3.1241 Macro-Civilization. This final structural category is rather unorthodox, but some new terminology is needed to explain the expansion of a way of life that has all the characteristics of a distinct civilization, but extends beyond natural and political boundaries, often in a non-continuous fashion. Such is the nature of the Ancient Hindu Civilization that spread throughout South East Asia, Islamic Civilization, and what we now call Modern Western Industrial Civilization (MWIC). All of these cultural complexes spread without regard to political boundaries from a more or less common general source. The non-contiguous nature of this structural category and its lack of concern for political boundaries is demonstrated adequately by Modern Western Industrial Civilization (MWIC). It covers most of North America, Europe and Australia.

3.1242 Macro-Civilization has characteristics of both the culture area and the structural type. As in a culture area, all regions of the macro-civilization share historical contact and many non-structural cultural features. These common non-structural features are a result of contact and are not primarily an outgrowth of internal functional necessity. Illustrations of such features would be art styles, clothing fashions, and music. Rapid, easy available communication has created a situation where geographic proximity no longer is required to maintain the close contact important in keeping these features reasonably uniform throughout the area.

3.1243 As a structural type, a macro-civilization has many common features which are based on internal functional relationships alone. These features are not dependent on close communication among the diverse areas to maintain their similarities. The American case study tries as best it can to illustrate regional variation within the specific macro-civilization called Modern Western Industrial Civilization.

Culture, Explicit and Implicit. (3.13)

3.130 The case studies demonstrate that some aspects of culture are clearly stated while others may be inferred only indirectly by the examination of a variety of behavior. The people of the Balkans make explicit the stages of their life cycle, while the stages of the Chinese and Tiv life cycles must be implied from their attitudes and behavior. Through these examples it is easy to see that not all cultures make explicit the same things. Sometimes a culture will state explicitly one thing, but examination of actual behavior will reveal a completely different implicit pattern. This is one illustration of the fact that people may do things quite differently from what they think they are doing.

Culture, Ideal and Actual. (3.14)

3.140 Cultures formulate ideals through a variety of means. These are the musts and shoulds in a particular culture, but needless to say not all individuals, or groups of individuals always do what is expressed or implied in these ideals. This is the difference between ideal and actual behavior. Both are part of culture. By carefully examining the Chinese case study in particular, it will be possible to see how these two aspects of culture work within a given cultural framework.

Summary. (3.15)

3.151 In the first section of this introduction to the case studies not only was the concept of culture explained in geographic terms, but a rationale for the selection of the case studies was presented. Each case study illustrates not only a unique life cycle but also a different way of viewing the concept of culture.

3.152 The remaining three sections in the introduction at first may seem remote from the study of the life cycle. However, a little thought will reveal that each structural type necessitates different kinds of action on the part of individuals. These actions in turn affect the life cycle. The concepts of explicit and implicit culture help us understand why the stages in the Serbian life cycle are so obvious while the divisions in the Tiv life cycle are more difficult to define. Only when we understand the possible discrepancies between ideal and actual behavior can we fully appreciate some of the aspects of the Chinese life cycle. Hopefully, this introductory discussion will aid in the understanding of the case studies that follow.

The Balkan Peasant (3.2)

3.201 It is dusk. A group of men are sitting by the roadside in front of a small combination tavern-shop. They talk about the day's work in the fields, the weather, and their crops.

3.202 Beyond them in the growing darkness women and older children carry empty buckets to the village well. Their bare feet scatter the dust in the road, and the buckets occasionally give off a metallic ring as they accidently hit each other. The return trip is slower. Two small boys struggle with a bucket too heavy for either of them to handle alone. Spilling water as they go.

3.203 Soon the street is deserted except for the men who continue to sit and talk. Lights flicker from the kitchens. A baby cries. Gradually the men leave returning home either to sleep or eat.

Cultural Background (3.21)

3.210 Almost every American has a mental picture of something Greek, but what sort of image comes to mind for Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania or Yugoslavia? These four countries and Greece occupy 275,000 square miles in the southern most part of Eastern Europe. Here some fifty-six million people live in the Balkan Peninsula, a region appropriately deriving its name from a work meaning mountains in Turkish. The people of the Balkans, although sharing sufficient aspects of culture to be considered members of a single cultural area differ greatly in many ways. At least three major religions -- Roman Catholic, Islam, and Greek Orthodox -- are represented. Seven languages -- Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Rumanian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian -- are spoken. These differences arise partially because the location of the Balkan peninsula has made it a natural meeting place for peoples and ideas from Europe, Asia, and North Africa over a long period of time.

3.2111 History. The first known inhabitants of the area were the Illyrians who apparently moved from the north. Archaeological investigation places the date for these people and the Thracians at approximately 1,000-2,000 B.C., during the close of the Bronze Age and the advent of the Iron Age. By the beginning of the first century A.D., the Slavs began their immigration, apparently from the region of present day Poland and the Ukraine. The reason for this migration is unknown, but it continued for several centuries. These Slavs had a tribal organization and a simple technology. Both the geographic diversity and isolation caused by the many mountainous areas of the Balkans helped to maintain these people as separate groups. Even the great rivers that could have served as natural highways did not unite groups which settled in different regions. The names of some of these Slavic tribes still appear in the Balkans as names of states or languages.

3.2112 Because the Balkan Peninsula is a geographic crossroad for three continents, it has been marked continuously by invasions from other countries. The Turks began to infiltrate and take over the Balkans in the 14th and 15th centuries. They brought with them the Islamic faith and a special form of family organization called the Zadruga which only now is beginning to disappear from the countryside. During the last half of the 17th century, Turkey's stronghold in the Balkans was seriously weakened by Austria. The Balkans then became a battleground between these two powers for almost two centuries. Out of this conflict, in about 1830, Serbia and Montenegro became self governing and independent. Rumania and Bulgaria achieved independence in 1856 and 1878 respectively. In 1918, after the end of the First World War, the Republic of Yugoslavia emerged with Serbia and Montenegro as member states. Albania became independent in 1920. The Balkans were invaded again during the Second World War, by the Germans, and the national unity of Yugoslavia previously created disappeared. Unity was again restored in Yugoslavia by the communist underground movement. Tito headed the government which was established and is still the leader of that nation.

3.2120 Geography. The geography and varying economy of Yugoslavia amply exemplifies the diversity of the Balkan Peninsula as a whole. The Adriatic coastal area of Yugoslavia has a Mediterranean climate with wet winters and hot, dry summers. The plains of the interior have a continental climate, while the mountains and plateaus are somewhat transitional between these two types. The inland region of Yugoslavia is forested primarily with beech, oak and some conifers. Between the Danube and Tisa rivers there is a steppe area where grain and sugar beets are grown. In the Mediterranean climatic area grow a covering of shrubs, heaths and grass. The greatest development of agriculture has been in the plains of Croatia and Serbia. The chief crops are wheat, maize, barley, oats, and rice. The richest agricultural land lies in northern and northeastern Yugoslavia, to the south of the Danubian plain. Although agricultural products are Yugoslavia's main exports, a great variety of mineral resources are being developed. These include gold, silver, iron, platinum, and nickel. Yugoslavia's aluminum industry exports its products to the United States. Timber while less important in recent years is still abundant in the mountainous regions.

3.2131 Peasants. Today within the Balkans there is an increasing emphasis on modernization and a continuing dependence on more powerful and wealthy nations outside the immediate area. As Albania looks to China for material assistance and a guiding philosophy, Yugoslavia manages to maintain a balance of relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union. Such influences help to increase the diversity within the Balkan Peninsula, while an overall tendency toward modernization creates a new type of unity. Both factors, however, are helping to bring about a loss of many of the unique cultural characteristics of the region. In spite of these developments, about 70% of the total population continues to derive its living from the land in a fashion showing surprisingly little change. These peasant groups with their long-shared historical tradition are probably the most important single force for maintaining the cultural unity and the distinctiveness of the Balkan Peninsula.

3.2132 Peasants are people who lack total isolation and political autonomy. They are agriculturalists who control their own land but are not concerned with large profit making enterprises or the reinvestment of surplus, except in the most limited sense. Most of their needs are fulfilled by services and goods purchased or made locally. In spite of this, they characteristically maintain a relationship with the more urban centers or market towns where whatever surplus they have is sold and special purchases are made. These peasants are subject to the demands of power-holders outside their own social group and form a class segment in the larger population of which they are a part.

3.2133 In Bulgaria roughly 75% of the people are peasants, compared to about 50% for Yugoslavia's 18½ million people. Peasants also comprise the largest portion of the Serbian population. They live in small towns or villages as do peasants throughout the Balkan region. These people were part of the general Slavic migration that settled in the Balkan area during the 7th century. These Serbs now inhabit the richest farm land in Yugoslavia.

3.2134 Serbians are quite uniform in physical type. They average about 5 feet 7 inches in height and often have brown eyes and dark hair. The Serbs are a proud people, very conscious of their heritage and linked together by a common language, Serbe-Croatian, which is often written in the Cyrillic Script. Such groups of people sharing a common language and a cultural tradition are typical of the Balkan culture area. Each group usually occupies a small continuous region with its own characteristic environment. Even though these individual groups do not all have the same language and are not identical in their cultural make up, it is still possible to acquire a feeling for much of the culture of the Balkan area as a whole by studying anyone of them. This is possible because despite differences there are overriding cultural factors within the area that tend to diminish the importance of these differences and create a situation where even remarkably different institutions may take on similar forms.

3.2141 Economics. Technologically these Serbian peasants are not very advanced. The majority plow and tend their crops with the aid of draft animals. A plow is pulled behind a donkey or cows, and weeding is done by hand with a metal hoe. Only a few individuals may own a tractor. Wagons pulled by draft animals are used to haul the produce home or to the grain mill, but fodder crops are often carried on human backs in 150 pound loads. Small tools like rakes, axes and pitchforks are made at home or by the village craftsmen.

3.2142 Generally, agriculture is not a large source of cash income for the peasant. Yet, there are very few agricultural products which are not marketed in limited quantities. The most significant as sources of income are the selling of wine, horses, cattle and swine. The two principle grain crops, corn and wheat, are of secondary importance as cash crops. The former is used almost exclusively as feed for livestock while the latter is consumed locally as flour.

3.2143 Few people in a peasant village have sources of income other than agriculture, and such sources usually are supplemented by farming. Local mines may provide income for a limited few. Others may work in a nearby factory and draw regular wages. Any enterprise that employs more than three people will be government controlled. This means that the workers receive health insurance, retirement benefits and a regular paid vacation at inexpensive government resort areas. Still other individuals may be self employed craft specialists. These craftsmen either may live and work in a single village or travel from place to place pursuing their trades. Those most in demand are masons, carpenters and seamstresses. Although not everyone in a village may derive his total livelihood from the land, there is still a feeling of agrarian unity and common purpose. The concern remains with crops, livestock and the seasonal cycle of planting and harvesting.

3.2150 Village and Family. Some villages in Yugoslavia may be quite small, but they usually are not occupied by more than 3500 nor less than about 1000 persons. All the individuals living in a single village customarily belong to one religious faith. This intensifies the feeling of unity already created by similar economic pursuits. Almost every village has at least a combined store and tavern where the men in the village may gather to sit and talk after the day's work is done. The most important unit in a village is the household group, which may be either a Nuclear Family or the Zadruga. The most common household group is the nuclear family. It consists of a man, his wife, and their children. Sometimes a grandparent or some other related individual may be attached to this family unit. The zadruga, on the other hand, always is comprised of at least two or more nuclear families who share a common house and economy. These families are closely related by blood or adoption. They own and operate the means of production communally, having joint control over property, labor and the consumption of any goods. In Serbia the head of the zadruga is now either the father of two or more brothers who remain together or, less commonly, an older male family member who has been chosen for his wisdom and general abilities. This individual is respected but normally does not administer the zadruga with dictatorial control. Customarily, he seeks out the advice of all the mature men in the family unit before making decisions. Within the zadruga the wife of the household head exerts influence both through her husband and her responsibility for planning and coordinating the work of the women. In comparison to the nuclear family, the zadruga with its greater number of members, makes possible a division of labor, which reduces the work load for everyone. Consequently people have more time for other occupations and often some of the finest handicraft is to be found in the homes of the larger zadrugas. Despite this advantage, the zadruga has declined rapidly in Serbia since the time of the First World War. Still, many of the attitudes and practices which originated with the zadruga still persist. The respect given to senior family members is probably traceable to the zadruga as is the tendency for lineage members to live in a single neighborhood.

3.2160 Lineages. Lineage affiliation is very important to the Christian Serbian peasant. Within a village, each lineage is composed of groups of households. All occupy the same neighborhood unless crowding makes it necessary for a family to move elsewhere. Members of a lineage trace their origin from a common ancestor, share a common name and have the same patron saint. The ancestor is usually male and descent always is traced through the male line. The active consciousness of lineage membership is revealed by the average villager's ability to relate from memory his own and related genealogies in detail for six to eight generations. A restriction on any kind of sexual relationship with a lineage member further illustrates the feeling for blood relationship within the lineage. Lineage unity is reinforced also by group attendance at funerals, weddings and other observances and celebrations.

3.2170 Religion. Religious practices vary according to the region and the faith, but for Balkan peasants as a whole they are closely bound to daily life. There are certain ceremonies and observances throughout the year which are prescribed by the faith, whether the Islamic month-long Fast of Ramazan, the Orthodox Easter, or Catholic Lent. Usually, however, for the Serbian Orthdox Christian peasant, the church ranks third in importance as a ceremonial center; the home is first and the graveyard second.

The village church is an informal place with villagers coming and going whenever they please. Attendance is irregular, and Sunday never finds more than a small handful of people at the service. Easter, which terminates the seven week period of Lent, is the most important and best-attended church ceremony. The religious functions of real significance to the peasant are held at home. The most important of these is the *salva* given in honor of a lineage patron saint. Preparation for this holiday begins several days in advance when the priest comes to bless the water used in making the *salva* cakes to be eaten during the festivities. Both men and women prepare the food, and friends and neighbors are invited as well as relatives.

Life Cycle (3.22)

3.220 Serbian peasants recognize eight divisions in life's continuum. These divisions are marked by a change in the terms used to refer to males and females at different times during their life. Although an infant may be nursed as long as fourteen months, he or she ceases to be a *beba* (baby) and becomes a *dete* (child) when he begins to crawl and utter recognizable sounds. This usually occurs between seven and nine months. Childhood includes a period between 8 and 15 when the child may have the status of student. The third recognizable period begins at about sixteen for girls and seventeen for boys. It is a time when the young people begin to seriously look for a marriage partner. Marriage gives the couple a new status and passes them into the fourth stage of the life cycle. They are not, however, thought to have achieved full status of *covek* (man) and *zena* (woman) until the first child is born. Three more divisions are recognized after full status is achieved. When a person has reached the age of forty he is respected by the younger people as an elder and called *cica* (uncle). By the time an individual is fifty he or she again receives a new title, *baba* and *deda* respectively, which is carried until just before death. The last division is reached when it is felt that an individual is dying and the final term of reference is applied.

3.2211 *Life Begins.* One of the happiest times in the life of a married Serbian peasant woman is while she is carrying a child, especially if it is her first. Within the village, children are universally desired. A man and his wife especially hope for a boy because he will carry on the family tradition. If a man has no sons, he is considered to be unfortunate. A standard explanation for a sonless man with a caustic disposition is "What can you expect? He has no sons."

3.2212 Since everyone wants children, when a woman becomes aware of her pregnancy, the immediate family usually rejoices. However, no one discusses in public the physical events concerning bearing a child and news of the event within the village is not advertised. In time the woman's appearance alone will announce the forthcoming event. Yet, despite the desire to have children, in recent times with land holdings becoming smaller and smaller, it is not uncommon for couples to practice birth control especially after a son has been born.

3.2213 A woman who is pregnant is thought to be ritually unclean. If a priest comes into the house to bless the water used in the preparation of the salva cakes, she must go outside. In addition to going outside, she is not supposed to eat the cake after it is prepared. Pregnancy, however, does not excuse her from performing her regular chores, and work in the field continues until within a few weeks before the baby's arrival.

3.2214 A babica usually is called when the labor pains begin. Babicas are old women within the village who act as midwives but have had no formal training in attending an expectant mother. If one is not available a female relative may be called to help with the delivery. Normally, men do not take part in the birth process. However, a well known story involves a folk belief requiring the husband to aid in the delivery by standing with his legs apart so his wife can crawl through them.

3.2215 During delivery, the woman remains in a squatting position with a mat below her. The babica aids her by helping her to remain as steady as possible during the actual birth. After delivery, the infant is washed and warm lard is rubbed gently on his head. He is then SWADDLED, wrapped in a blanket and laid beside his mother. Within three days, the mother is up attending to her household duties as usual.

3.2216 Several days after an infant is born, the father is required to register the birth at the village council. All peasants also register the birth with the priest before the infant is christened. The priest gives the infant a temporary name and the father some blessed water. This water is used to bathe the infant for forty days or until he is christened.

3.2217 The christening ceremony usually is held within a week or ten days after birth. The name is selected and conferred by the godfather of the infant. The godfather also provides the christening shirt and is, in return, presented with a pair of knitted socks, and a shirt. The ceremony is performed in the rectory of the priest and the infant's grandparents, godfather and father attend. Water is poured over the naked infant, and he is named by his godfather. A lock of the infant's hair is cut and is rolled in wax from a lighted candle. This ball is then put in a candlestick. Incense is lit and the father, priest and godfather walk around the ceremonial table three times swinging incense and chanting. A crucifix is touched to parts of the infant's body and the sign of the cross is made over him. Lastly the godfather spits over his godchild "to get rid of the devil." They then return to the parent's home where the infant is displayed on a bed. Relatives and neighbors visit giving money and good wishes while the father provides drinks for all.

3.2218 Babies are swaddled "so that their legs will grow straight." Thin braids of yern and two or three blankets are tightly bound around them. This swaddling continues for approximately three months only. But during the first year, an infant spends most of his life bundled in his cradle. His mother sometimes carries him to the fields with her, or she may leave him with a female member of the household. Often it is a grandparent who takes care of the infant since parents have to spend much of their time away from the house.

3.2219 Infants are nursed by their mothers for a period of twelve to fourteen months. They are fed bread mush and milk at about three months and, at six to eight months, coddled eggs with bread-crumbs are introduced to the diet. When the first teeth are cut, infants are fed an adult diet but the mothers continue to nurse them on demand for sometime after that.

3.2220 Toilet training is rarely discussed among the villagers and is treated casually. Babies are cleaned once or twice a day and gradually are expected to imitate their older brothers and sisters.

3.2221 The infant passes into childhood when he begins to crawl and utter recognizable sounds. This transition normally takes place when he is from seven to nine months old.

3.2231 Childhood. As a child begins to move around more by himself, he is allowed to crawl on the dirt floor. His older siblings or relatives take care of him and see that he does not get into the fire or mischief. He is cared for by these older children until he starts to school, at about the age of seven. Throughout this period, the child has been in an emotionally pleasant atmosphere. He is fondled frequently, sung to and played with by his relatives. He learns to expect attention and love, and public displays of affection are encouraged. On the other hand, he is expected to show respect and obedience to adults. A clear division between children and adults is maintained in many social activities, and customarily they do not even eat together.

3.2232 When children reach the age of about five, they are entrusted with small chores. They help pick berries, fruits and vegetables, gather wood for the fire, and watch the pigs or sheep. Children look forward to the time when they will enter school. This marks a change in their lives. They meet people other than relatives and those folks in their own neighborhood. Children are proud to be pupils and are very enthusiastic about going to school.

3.2233 From the time a child is seven until he is eleven or twelve, he attends the village elementary school, but this does not excuse him from chores at home. Peasant children sometimes resent having these household obligations. Frequently they lose their tempers and raise their voices to their elders. When this happens, punishment follows, usually by getting their ears boxed or their noses twisted. In a general atmosphere that accepts work and fosters affection, these simple punishments are effective.

3.2234 Besides working and studying, children also spend time playing. In the winter months, they play in the snow, make skis and sleds and have snowball fights; in the warmer months, they play tag, soccer, and other games which they have learned at school.

3.2235 Most of the clothing worn by children has been worn first by older brothers, sisters or cousins. Children usually go barefoot and do not wear underpants until they are four or five years old. The pre-school children wear a short smock and in the winter, knit socks, gloves and sweaters. When a boy starts to school, he wears pants and a scarf in the winter. Girls begin to wear black cotton smocks over their dresses in the fifth grade.

3.2236 The period just after finishing elementary school is a critical one in the lives of the villagers. During this period their future life is determined. Some will continue their education in a high school if one is nearby. Others will become apprentices to craftsmen in the village. This generally happens when there are several brothers in a family and not enough land to support all of them. Still others may take jobs working for wages outside the village. But the majority of post-school children remain in the village to farm. On the whole, this is a period of hard work and limited fun for the young people. They are too old for school and too young to participate in the village or community fairs and social dances.

3.2237 The boys who choose to farm take on greater responsibilities at this time. They help their fathers with the plowing, hoeing, reaping and threshing. In addition, they learn to handle the livestock and go with the men to the market. Boys occasionally rebel against their parent's authority during this period and are severely reprimanded for this behavior. Girls learn how to cook, bake and to do many kinds of handicrafts. They start their trousseau at this time and add to it during the following years.

3.2238 Because of the repressed attitude toward sex in the peasant village, girls find out about the physical changes they experience through discussions with school friends. However, after they have had their first menstrual period their mothers, grandmothers, and aunts readily give them advice and folk remedies. Girls are taught to wear their oldest skirt drawn up between their legs, under another skirt during their menstrual periods.

3.2239 When boys reach the age of seventeen and girls the age of sixteen, they are considered young adults. Accompanying this new status are additional privileges. They begin to dress in the best clothes their families can afford. A major portion of a household's budget is spent outfitting the young bachelor or maiden. These youths now can attend the dances, markets and fairs, which give them a chance to associate with eligible members of the opposite sex. The county fairs provide them with opportunities to meet young people from other villages. To such functions, they wear their best clothes. Yet, a boy and girl never go together to such functions unless they are officially engaged. Usually a dance is held after a fair. If a boy sees a girl he wants to meet, he will probably ask a friend to act as a go-between. Sometimes several hundred young people from twenty villages will attend these festivities. In addition to fairs, there are regular holiday dances held within the village that also supply chances for young people to meet.

3.2240 Pre-marital sexual activities are permitted to young men. A mother will not admit her sons' activities but frequently a father will boast about them. This behavior is not regarded as appropriate for maidens. Should it be known that a girl is not a virgin, it would be difficult for her finding someone to marry.

3.2241 This period of young adulthood lasts for only a few years. Girls are expected to marry in their late teens or early twenties, and boys marry by the time they are twenty-four or twenty-five. Usually the young couple will not have a chance to know each other well prior to the marriage. This is especially true if the individuals come from different villages. Their opportunity to associate will be limited to seeing each other at the various fairs, almost always in the company of others. After marriage, they are considered adults and expected to take on the appropriate responsibilities.

3.2251 Adulthood. Marriage is the only conceivable and acceptable way of life to the peasant. Everyone gets married. There is no prescribed role for an unmarried person to play. Several decades ago, marriages were arranged by the parents of the prospective bride and groom, but now a boy and girl of marriageable age meet, decide they want to get married and ask their parents for permission. The brothers and sisters within a household usually marry in order of age, creating pressure on the oldest to marry as soon as the prescribed age is reached.

3.2252 Most young people marry someone from another village, usually within a ten to twenty mile radius. However, about one-third of the marriages are between young people within a single village. A boy and girl may elope if their parents are opposed to their marrying. If this occurs, an attempt is made to create good feelings between the two families afterward. It is very important for a girl to have good relations with her in-laws as she will become part of her husband's family.

3.2253 Marriages are usually arranged for the fall since this is the time when the harvest is in and the households are well stocked with food for the celebrations. Preparation for a wedding begins several weeks in advance. The bride makes sure she has enough shirts, towels and knitted socks to give her in-laws. A Dowry is arranged between the families. A few days before the wedding, the prospective father-in-law arrives at the girl's house with a wagon. He collects the dowry and pulls it through the streets of the village so everyone can see the value of the bride. The items of the dowry are arranged in a room in the house of the groom's father where the newlyweds will live. The dowry consists of the brides trousseau, items of handiwork, and some furniture.

3.2254 In the groom's house, most of the pre-wedding activities center around preparing the feast for the celebration. Pigs and lambs are roasted by the men while the women do the baking. Friends and relatives are asked to assist and, in return, receive a small gift.

3.2255 On the morning of the wedding, the guests gather at the house of the groom's father. In the courtyard they prepare to go and bring back the bride. A caravan of carriages and buggies, decorated with flowers, slowly proceeds to the bride's house. The participants are arranged in a traditional order. Several bachelors on horseback, one carrying a Serbian flag, lead the procession through the streets.

3.2256 This group is met by the bride's male relatives who invite the groom's party into the house to greet the bride. A meal is eaten with the bride and groom at the head of the table. Afterwards, the bride rides in the lead carriage of the caravan to the church where a brief ceremony is performed. All then return to the groom's house for a wedding feast and a celebration which lasts for hours. At sundown, the bride and groom slip away from the party to their room while the dancing and celebrating continue through out the night.

3.2257 Marriage marks the beginning of a new way of life for a young man and woman. Residence is Patrilocal, and the new bride is under a tremendous strain to win the approval of her in-laws. however, a bride and groom do not receive the full status of man and woman until they have a baby. This usually happens within a year and a half after marriage. If they do not have children, the woman may seek help from an older woman or a doctor. If she still does not have children, usually a divorce is arranged or a child is adopted.

The life of an adult man or woman is bound to domestic and economic tasks. A man is regarded as head of the household and thought to be superior. However, women participate in matters which involves the entire household such as financial planning or decision-making. Public displays of affection between husband and wife are restricted even within the household but are permitted and encouraged between parents and children.

3.2258 Men and women in their twenties and thirties are very active. They are considered to be in the prime of their physical strength. Most of the heavy labor is done by them, and consequently they age rapidly. Women lose their youthful look; their hands become work-worn and calloused. Since most of the labor is performed outside in the open, the faces of the men and women have a ruddy complexion.

3.2259 In early spring, men plow their fields and prepare them for seeding. They then attend to their vineyards and livestock with the help of young boys and girls. In April, the hoeing begins and continues through June. Summer is the busiest time of the year for Serbian peasants. Women rise early, milk the cows, feed the stock, prepare breakfast and help the men off to the fields. They also attend to their vegetable gardens after which they go to the fields to help their husbands. In late June and July, the wheat is harvested and threshed. Both men and women share in this work. Also in July the corn is ready to be harvested. Vegetables need to be harvested and stored for the winter. Fruit from the orchards is gathered in September, and October, it is grape picking time. All these activities throughout the year require family efforts. Friends and neighbors also pitch in and help. In Winter the work slows down, since the fields are covered with snow. The men care for the livestock and repair tools; the women milk the cows, make cheese, bake bread and sew. With the coming of spring and the melting of the snow, the yearly cycle begins again.

3.2261 Later years and death. Although men and women in their twenties and thirties do most of the heavy labor and raise families, prestige and authority resides in the older people of the village. It is when a villager reaches forty, that he is respected as an elder by the younger people.

3.2262 Elders display certain symbols which let the village know that they have reached the appropriate age. A man will carry a cane when he goes to market. The people in the village then will begin to call him by the special name, cica. This title will be replaced again by the terms Baba and Deda respectively for men or women when they reach their fiftieth birthday.

3.2263 Women, as they advance in years, acquire a respect and status more approximating that of men. They are permitted more freedom of conduct and are not bound by the restriction of their younger days. They can go and do almost whatever they want. They can go alone to market, to social gatherings and weddings. They can drink, tell jokes and dance at the gatherings of relatives and friends. However, when people from another village are present, they are expected to conduct themselves with dignity.

3.2264 Most of the time, an old person is considered the head of the household. This does not mean necessarily that he personally is providing its economic support. This is the responsibility of his son or sons who willingly and without question carry out this function. The elder people are not just an economic burden, however. They take care of their grandchildren when their parents have gone to the fields. They help with the cooking and some of the lighter work, and they may still be the ones to make the final decisions affecting the household.

3.2265 Sometimes it is necessary for an elderly person to live alone. This is the hardest situation a person can face in a peasant village. The older people do not have the strength to do all the necessary chores. They are dependent on their relatives or neighbors for help. A tradition of helping the elderly is very strong within the village. Everyone realizes that a time may come when they too will need help.

3.2266 When an old person is dying, his family passes the word of his condition throughout the village. His best clothes are made ready and if he is dying of a "dirty disease" such as tuberculosis, his old clothing is burned.

3.2267 After death, someone must sit guarding the corpse, and candles must be kept burning. The windows are closed, mirrors removed and cats are not permitted to enter the room. The peasants believe that this will prevent the spirit of the deceased from leaving. They also furnish the spirit with bread, salt and a glass of wine.

3.2268 The funeral always takes place the day after death and the same people who would be invited to a wedding are invited to the burial. They crowd into the room where the corpse lies. From outside the wails of mourning women can be heard. Men are not allowed to display their grief in public. When the head of the household decides it is time for burial, the priest says a few prayers and all walk toward the graveyard. They stop at the church; the priest performs a service with the funeral party standing in a circle around the coffin holding lighted candles. The group then proceeds to the cemetery where a final prayer is said. A relative places some money in the hand of the deceased, "for the journey". A bottle of wine and one of oil are broken on the closed coffin and each of the relatives and friends throws a handful of soil on the grave. Throughout this burial ceremony, women mourn in loud mechanical chants. They express woe and loneliness, and eulogize the deceased.

3.2269 After the burial, everyone sits on the ground between the tombstones and a feast is spread out. Large feasts also are held at the grave at periods of a week, forty days, six months and a year after the death. The immediate family goes to the grave every week during this entire period. The women wear black kerchiefs and the men wear black arm bands during this time.

3.2270 These peasants accept death as being inevitable and unavoidable. They believe that a deceased person continues his life in another world. Consequently, although there is a great deal of highly ritualized mourning, no one outside the immediate family experiences deep grief.

Summary and Conclusion (3.23)

The stages of the Serbian life cycle have been presented in such a fashion that it should be possible to relate them at least in a general way to the four major cross cultural divisions of the life cycle. There is little doubt that the first stage in the Serbian life cycle corresponds to the cross cultural division of infancy. The second stage belongs in the category of childhood. At first we may view the third division of the Serbian life cycle as a transitional period between childhood and full adult status. Yet, this division lacks the characteristics of adolescence as it is seen in the United States. The period more closely resembling American adolescence is the time from the completion of formal studies in the village school until the youngster is old enough to participate in the social activities associated with stage three of the Serbian life cycle. This period, however, is not recognized as a separate stage by the Serbian villagers. Marriage which initiates the fourth stage in the life of a Serbian peasant does not bring with it full adult status. Thus, perhaps it is best to view stages two and three as being part of the cross cultural division of childhood and stage four as the transition to adulthood. However, since many cultures tend to think of marriage as initiating adulthood we have placed this transition period under the category adulthood in the body of the text. Adulthood is composed of stages five and six, while old age probably begins with stage seven and continues through stage eight.

It should be obvious from the foregoing that the relationship between the cross cultural divisions and an individual life cycle may not correspond exactly. It is only in a broad general way that they may be related.

CHINESE CIVILIZATION (3.3)

3.30 Two sisters were grinding grain in the courtyard. They laughed and chatted as they worked. The older girl's hair was gathered into a single braid that hung down her back. She was about thirteen, too old to be allowed beyond the courtyard gate. The younger girl's hair had not yet grown out from the area that traditionally was kept shaved in early childhood. From time to time she left the older girl to run and see who was passing by. Suddenly the girls stopped their chatter and worked quietly. The little girl no longer ran to the gate. Their father had come home. No well brought up Chinese woman or child would dare to speak above a whisper or run about in the presence of his or her father.

Cultural Background. (3.31)

3.3101 More than 3,000 years ago ancestors of about a fourth of the world's present population were burning letters written to the dead, a practice still in existence today. Smoke from the letters is believed to carry messages from the living to deceased ancestors. These ancient users of a developed writing system were themselves the great-great-grand-children many thousand times removed from the first people who lived on the Chinese mainland some 500,000 years ago. Those very first inhabitants of the mainland are not known from their writings because they had none. They are known by their bones and cultural remains which have been found about 30 miles south west of the city of Peiping.

3.3102 The prehistory of a people is often obscure. Yet, the understanding of existing customs is often impossible without a knowledge of the past. This is especially true when the people themselves consciously feel the antiquity of their culture to be important and look to the past for inspiration and guiding principles. Thus, both archaeology and history help lay the foundation for studying the Chinese Life Cycle.

3.3111 History. The first preliterate inhabitants of continental China lived by hunting and gathering as have similar peoples throughout the world. They moved about in a systematic fashion following the seasonal patterns of the plants and animals which supplied them with the necessary materials for living. As they moved about, they adapted to a variety of climates and gradually took on differing ways of life. In time their life styles and the kind of cultural materials which they made and used became considerably different. Sometime in that dim past the people living in the north eastern section of what is now the Chinese mainland began to raise millet, giving up their semi-nomadic ways. By this time also, throughout the land both the dog and the pig had become domesticated.

3.3112 As early as 1400 B.C. much of what is thought to be characteristically Chinese was already present in the culture of a group of people living along the Huan River about 300 miles from the sea. These people lived under the rule of a king and possessed an elaborate writing system, a large body of literature and a developed technology. Their arts were sophisticated and distinct. Men worked in the fields growing a variety of cereal grains. Women spent time tending silk worms. These people worshipped nature deities including the earth, symbolized by a small earth mound in every village and Shang Ti, the "ruler above". According to belief, the only effective way to communicate with these deities and with the ancestoral spirits was by writing to them. Smoke from the burning message would deliver the thought in the spirit world. Harmony with the ancestoral spirits was essential, for they were the ones to give prosperity or difficulty. In turn the spirits were dependent on the living for food and immortality. Thus an individual after death did not cease to be part of the family. He only passed into a new relationship with a different set of duties and obligations so far as the living relatives were concerned. Death was not the abrupt end of the individual as a socially functioning part of the family as is the case in many cultures. Perhaps, the deceased relative was still more significantly a part of the family group than some of our own distantly dwelling aunts, cousins or even grandparents.

3.3113 These people of Shang were not left in peace to develop their culture. By 1122 B.C., the Chou, a group with a language related to the Shangs, moved from the west and conquered them. This began the series of historically recorded conquests of the Chinese heartland by outsiders. The Chou were a pre-literate people, but they quickly adopted the elaborate calligraphy of the Shangs to their own language. The two groups were similar enough in their basic cultural emphasis that it was easy for the Chou to adopt elements of Shang culture including their calendrical system, style of architecture and aspects of their religion. Alliances were established between the two groups with Chou rulers taking as brides, noble women of Shang. Here the inheritance pattern of Chou which gave succession to the eldest son of the principal wife took precedence over the Shang pattern of a man's younger brother succeeding him as head of the family.

3.3114 Power and position within the culture depended on land. The social hierarchy included the rulers made up of a group of military officers and government officials. These individuals had acquired their position either by birth or through personal achievements. Here, status of a whole family could be lost through inappropriate acts of an individual, but in the contrary situation, the achievements of an individual only brought a change in status to the person himself. Beneath the aristocracy was the large mass of commoners who were, for all practical purposes, land serfs. They tilled the fields belonging to someone else or did whatever work was asked of them. Their housing was assigned and they were required to wear clothing no finer than their social position indicated. They were subject to strict taxation and had no right of appeal. Still more lowly than they, were the slaves taken in battle or the surviving relatives of a criminal who might have been put to death.

3.3115 Confucius was born about 550 B.C. He was not a religious leader nor a prophet, but a humanist who found the secret of life in men and their better relationships. As such he was a social philosopher and a political actionist. He believed that individuals should take political appointments and put into practice a philosophy that would improve the social system through the force of their own example.

3.3116 Many of his ideas were based in tradition and he accepted most of the existing feudal order. He saw disharmony and social problems as the outgrowth of people going against the established order, which he perceived as the natural order as well. The goal or will of heaven was to maintain the cosmic harmony between man, earth and heaven. This could be achieved primarily through the law of reciprocity as applied to five great relationships:

> Kindness in the father, filial piety in the son
>
> Gentility in the eldest brother, humility and respect in the younger
>
> Righteous behavior in the husband, obedience in the wife.
>
> Humane consideration in elders, deference in juniors
>
> Benevolence in rulers, loyalty in ministers and subjects.

In stating these relationships explicitly he created a framework for government and family that has influenced the Chinese people for generations.

3.3117 The Chou were succeeded by the Ch'in who built the Great Wall to protect the more settled agriculturalists from the raiding Huns, a roaving pastoral people. The Ch'in brought with them a belief in a dragon god and helped implant the dragon motif in the local art.

3.3118 By 200 A.D. there were five major ethical systems in China. Taoism and Confucianism were native beliefs, while Nostorian Christianity, Mohammedanism and Buddhism were not. In addition there were many regional religious practices that tended to emphasize nature worship and their own local set of beliefs.

3.3119 Periods of invasion with their accompanying foreign rule followed periodically on times of local leadership. Likewise, times of national development and prosperity were followed by periods of hardship and unrest. The last great period of famine and unrest lead to the infiltration of communist ideas and the new government's attempt to restore well being to the people. The variety of influences over the enormous time span of China's history and prehistory has been very great, yet the thread of continuity has been maintained primarily through religious beliefs and social organization, especially those of family and state. Even the recent communist attempt to break this continuity apparently have not been as successful as they would like it to be.

3.3121 Geography. Variety is not only temporal but spacial. Mainland China may be divided roughly into three major sections: that of the north, the south and so called outer China. These regions tend to be both cultural and natural areas. Much of the total area is inhospitable. This is especially true of outer China, the area beyond the Great Wall including Tibet, Sinkeang, and most of Inner Mongolia. Only about one twentieth of the Chinese population live in this area of mountains and dry grasslands which makes up about half of the land mass of continental China. It is here that nomadic herdsmen live driving their cattle, horses, and camels or tending their flocks of sheep and goats in search of adequate pasture much as they always have. The rest of the population is concentrated either in the alluvial lowlands of southern China or the more geographically diverse areas of northern China.

3.3122 Northern and Southern China are separated by a high mountain range, the Chin Ling Shan. Both physical separation and geographic differences have helped to create a cultural split between these two areas, which can be seen in such things as language, farming techniques, principle food crops, house types, and even sleeping arrangements.

3.3123 Southern China is for the most part a very hospitable region. The soil is rich. Rain is plentiful and the weather warm enough to grow crops the year round. It is a densely populated area where people cultivate rice usually employing irrigation. Northern China is hilly and mountainous with deep cultivable soil, but the rainfall is nondependable causing farmers to face the dangers of crop failure. Terracing is used extensively to grow wheat and millet by dry farming techniques. As one moves toward the coast, the land gradually becomes flat and it is in the fertile Yellow Plain that China has one of its greatest concentrations of populations. A second area of high population on density occurs in the Manchurian Plain still farther north. Aside from being important for the production of fruits, melons and a variety of vegetables, the Manchurian Plain is the location of many of China's leading industrial centers.

3.3131 Civilization. China is neither a small nor a simple cultural unit. All the people do not have a uniform way of life. There are relatively isolated villages where people live practicing agriculture on an almost subsistance basis. These are the peasants of China. There are large industrial centers where men and women work as day laborers in factories. There are sea ports that keep thousands of individuals busy. Many more people work as miners, shop keepers, artisans, teachers or other kinds of specialists. Each group of workers is more or less dependent on all the others, for no one group can produce all the items needed for their own existence. In many cases goods must be moved over long distances. Relationships become impersonal. These are all characteristics of civilization.

3.3132 Civilization may be thought of as a way of life where a written language is almost always essential, but where developed political systems and the production of sufficient surplus to allow for occupational specialization are necessities. Groups of people are not isolated or self sufficient. The population is not homogeneous but is characterized by social stratification. Often large public works are developed and maintained while the universe may be ordered through formal systems of thought. China exhibits all of these aspects of civilization.

3.3140 Economics. Despite the large range of possible occupations in China, the most common means of making a living is still farming. Vast estates owned by a small segment of the population were tilled by large numbers of landless families for generations. This economic pattern supported and reinforced Confucian family institutions. Even today when the communist government has taken the land out of the hands of the traditional land holding class, a majority of the people remain tilling the soil much as they always have. Only now, the fields belong to the communes instead of individual families.

3.3151 Village and Family. The estates and populations attached to them formed the basis for village life in China. The people living in a given village usually were related. Should the land owning family become bankrupt, the village and land often would be annexed to an estate near by.

3.3152 The Chinese family was nominally monogamous, but a man could take additional wives. Often secondary wives were the sisters of his first wife, a practice known as soral polygyny. Under normal circumstances, the first wife maintained her dominant position over her co-wives, but should she fail to bear a son her position would be threatened by the co-wife whose son would succeed to the head of her husband's family.

3.3153 The ideal family has been the large extended family consisting of three or more generations living under the same roof. Its membership might be more than thirty individuals. The head of this unit was a patriarch who usually was the oldest direct male descendent of the family founder. This individual has had the power of life and death over his sons and other family members. It was possible for him to sell his wives or his children if he so desired.

3.3154 Marriage until very recently was not an individual affair but was arranged between the two families concerned, often through a professional match maker. It was a rare exception when either party had the opportunity to see the other prior to the ceremony. After the ceremony the woman went to live in her husband's family village and household. Her children would carry his name and be his descendents.

3.3160 Social Groups other than Family and Village. Individuals having the same surname or hsing are exogamous; they do not intermarry. This does not mean, however, that individuals with the same hsing necessarily consider themselves to be related through a common ancestor. Each hsing may consist of one or more tsu or clans whose members do trace their descent through the male line to a common ancestor. The village of this ancestor is thought of as the center of the tsu. Members of a tsu own property in common, the proceeds of which are used for religious, educational and relief purposes rather than as a means of livelihood. The tsu also maintains its own genealogies and graveyards. Families belonging to the same tsu tend to occupy restricted geographical areas, but the membership of some clans is widely dispersed. Often villages are composed of individuals from a single tsu, or if a village has more than one tsu, all the members of the same tsu will reside together in one section of the village. This makes it necessary for individuals to seek their marriage partners from neighboring villages or different sections of the same village. Thus the village or neighborhood becomes an exogamous unit further limiting the chances for a prospective couple to have the opportunity to meet prior to marriage.

3.3171 Religion. The ancestoral temple has been the center of family life for generations. It was here that the new bride was accepted into the household, here where important ceremonies took place. Likewise, the temple of the ruler became the center not only for his family but for all of China since the Chinese viewed their political system as a great extension of the family. In this sense the ruler of the country occupied a position comparable to the head of the family just as the head of the tsu functioned in a similar capacity for its members.

3.3172 The ancestoral temple was not the only place of religious importance. An altar to the Earth Mother usually was maintained in every village as was a temple to the Heavens. A variety of beliefs in spirits was present also. Still, in almost all aspects of religion and daily life the basic concepts of the five great reciprocal relationships formulated by Confucious were maintained.

Life Cycle. (3.32)

3.320 The Chinese do not give an individual a different title at each stage of the life cycle as do the Serbian peasants. Thus it becomes necessary to look for another way for determining the stages in the Chinese life cycle. Eight distinct changes in attitude and relationship can be found to occur during the life time of a person living in China. The first stage may be counted from birth until the arrival of the next baby or in the absence of another baby, until the youngster is about three. The second stage begins when the child is placed under the care of the father and continues until the child is able to assume certain responsibilities on his own, or about the age of six. The third period includes the years during which both sexes are permitted to play together without adult supervision. Segregation of the sexes is enforced from about ten until marriage and makes up the fourth stage. Marriage brings with it the fifth stage of the life cycle and the birth of the first child the sixth. When the marriage of the first son is accomplished, the couple pass into the seventh stage. The eighth and final stage of the life cycle is entered when the first grandchild is born. It can be seen that the stages of the Chinese life cycle reflect one of the dominant themes of the culture, the importance of the continuation of the family through the birth of sons and grandsons.

3.3211 Life Begins. The importance of perpetuating the family line is so great in China that the significance of pregnancy cannot be over stated. The nine months during which a woman carries the unborn are known as the period when she has "happiness in her body". Should the infant be a boy, everybody will rejoice since it is the son who will carry on the family and perform the necessary functions for the deceased ancestors.

3.3212 When it is time for the baby to be delivered the father goes to the altar of the mother earth goddess in the village and worships her. He takes a lighted incense burner from the temple and carries it home to the room where the expectant mother is waiting to bear her child. A midwife is called and all the men, unmarried girls and children are sent out of the room and instructed to remain quiet.

Sometimes neighboring women will be called to help, but unless an individual has been requested to attend, outsiders are not welcome.

3.3213 The new-born is fed a few drops of water to "open its mouth" before it is wrapped in a piece of cloth and permitted to nurse at its mother's breast. The mother, meanwhile is given a gruel, usually made of millet, and some brown sugar to eat. The soiled articles and after birth are carried out and buried behind the house, if it is a girl; or near the bed where the mother delivered, if it is a boy. Girls do not remain in the house of their birth, but must go to live with their husband's people when they grow up -- a boy must remain in the home of his father. It is believed that his strength and manliness might be lost to the family if the afterbirth were buried beyond the household compound while it would be unjust to lock a girl womanliness in the house of her birth.

3.3214 On the third day after birth, offerings are made to the kitchen god of the house, all the gods in the family shrine and the local patron deity. The mother is expected to try to get up, but her mother-in-law restrains her explaining that it is too soon for her to resume her regular household duties. This is the day when the infant is bathed and dressed for the first time, formally presented to its grandparents and receives from them a small or baby name.

3.3215 The infant is dressed in red and receives a name appropriate to its sex. This name usually indicates the family's attitude toward the infant. If it is a boy, the name selected might mean Joy, Blessing, Prosperity, or Learning. If it is a girl, Thrift, Chastity, Diligence or even Little Mistake, Too Many or Unpleasantness might be chosen.

3.3216 People bring eggs and noodles for the mother to eat. These symbolize peace and long life. Often the eggs are colored red to signify happiness. The gifts are brought in a basket covered with a red cloth. Each woman leaves her present and takes the opportunity to see the infant and congratulate the mother. Similar gifts are expected from the maternal grandparents as well as neighbors and patrilineal kin. All who come are fed and the mother eats a special kind of noodle which is believed to be good for her milk and speed her recovery.

3.3217 A Chinese infant is counted as being a year old at birth. Each new year, another year is added, so all Chinese celebrate their birth on the same day regardless of when they were actually born. At the time of a boy's second birthday, a tray of objects is placed in front of him and he is encouraged to take any one of them. By his choice, the family believe they know what his future will be. Should he take the seal, he will be an official. If he grabs the coin he will become rich or the pen indicates he will be a scholar. The tray may contain many objects. Usually some feminine object will be placed among them. Should the baby reach for it, the family becomes disturbed, for this is thought to indicate that the infant will waste his life chasing after women. It is customary for the wife's parents to be present for this ceremony.

3.3218 Ideally the mother cares for her baby constantly. She feeds him when he cries and changes his clothes when they become wet or soiled. However, the actual amount of time she can give her baby will depend on how many other responsibilities she has. If the family is well to do, she may have practically all her time for infant care. If however, the family is poor, she may have to work in the fields. In such cases the baby may be fastened on to her back in a way which leaves her hands and arms free, or the infant may be left in the care of another adult female or an older child. In many areas of China, if the mother is not available to suckle the infant, some other member of the household who is still nursing a baby may suckle him instead.

3.3219 The infant is nursed until it is two or three years of age, or until the mother is pregnant again. Solid foods are introduced to the baby's diet when it is about seven months old. These may be fed to him by any member of the family. It is not, however, until weaning that the young offspring is considered to be other than an infant to be cared for by its mother and other female members of the household. During the entire period of infancy little regular effort is made to toilet train the youngster.

3.3221 Childhood. With the arrival of a new sibling, the child can no longer sleep next to its mother. In large wealthy households, a boy is sent to sleep with his father in the men's sleeping room. However, in many families all the family members sleep in one room on a single bed. In this case, the child simply is made to sleep next to his father. At this time, the father also assumes responsibility for seeing that the child is clothed appropriately. Now toilet training becomes more regularized, discipline is more strict and the child is expected to begin assuming certain responsibilities.

3.3222 By six, little girls are able to care for younger siblings, clean grain and wash small pieces of cloth. Boys of a similar age may be required to collect grass, gather fire wood or tend animals. They also may start attending school, but many do not. Some will begin school when they are older, but there are large numbers of boys who never go at all. Only recently has it been considered desirable for a girl to attend school, although one of her brothers might have taught her some of his lessons at home. Traditionally, girls from good homes are not supposed to be seen outside the house compound after about their tenth birthday, so school for them has not been practical from that standpoint. The job of a girl has been to learn the tasks of the home.

3.3223 In villages it is not uncommon for boys to go naked unless the weather is very cold, until they start school or until they are about ten years of age. Girls, however, are clothed even in the poorest families from the age of six or seven. Their garment cover only the lower portion of their body until they are older and begin to show signs of developing a more mature form.

3.3224 Boys and girls play together freely until they are about 10 years old, but after that they can associate only in groups where they are easily seen by adults. This limited contact may continue until a girl is between the ages of thirteen and fifteen. After fifteen she will not be given an opportunity to see or talk to boys alone. Should her own brothers come into the room where she is working she should remain quiet and keep her head down. If the house is large enough, she is expected to retire to another room unless some older woman is present. In poorer families these restrictions often cannot be enforced but the feeling remains that communication should be kept to a minimum between the sexes.

3.3225 Boys are punished by both parents until they are about ten. A girl is disciplined by her mother. A mother may scold or slap the buttocks of a young son, but when he is older she seldom scolds him directly. This is the responsibility of his father. When a father must punish his son, he will hit him privately if the boy is over ten. The child's mother is the only person who should be present at such a time. Younger children usually flee in fright while older ones commonly need not be told to leave. Both mother and siblings may console the boy after he has been chastized, but no one may interfere with his punishment. If a sibling teases another about a beating the tease will be scolded severely by both parents. No father is expected to hit a boy over fifteen and should he do so, he will be criticized by his fellow villagers and the members of both his and his wife's family. If an older boy remains unmanageable after prolonged private persuasion and repeated explanations, a conference will be held by the senior members of the household who decide upon a course of action. Once a son is married he must be treated as an adult regardless of his age.

3.3226 As the children grow, their parents begin to plan for their marriage. The age of betrothal varies greatly from area to area, family to family and even sometimes within the same family. These arrangements may be made when a boy and girl are between the ages of seven and nine. It is equally possible for a betrothal to take place when they are seventeen or twenty. It is not uncommon, however, for a girl to be promised by the time she is fifteen and a boy several years older.

3.3227 Arrangements are usually carried out through a professional match maker and may be initiated by either the family of the girl or that of the boy. The period of betrothal may last anywhere from less than one year to as many as ten depending on the age of the couple at the time the arrangements were made. If the girl's family is poor, she may be sent almost immediately to the home of her future husband. Should she still be a small child at the time, she will work in the home much as a servant would until she reaches physical maturity and can assume her full wifely duties.

3.3228 Neither boys nor girls receive any formal sex education. A girl is informed that she is unclean when she menstruates and that she must avoid any contact with ritual objects or activities, but she knows almost nothing about the actual physical relationship of marriage prior to going to live with her husband. Boys may have some practical experience before marriage, but a girl almost never does. Even in the case of the boy, such behavior if commonly known will cause him to lose prestige in the eyes of the villagers. In general, any sexual experience outside of marriage is highly discouraged.

3.3231 Adulthood. Marriage marks the beginning of adulthood. A male will still be considered a child, if he is unmarried, even if he is in his late twenties. With marriage, villagers no longer use his baby or small name. He has the right to represent his family in public affairs and to own property in his own behalf. Should a man or woman die before they are married, they are buried without any ceremony and their spirits will not be admitted to the ancestral halls.

3.3232 Marriage also gives a girl a new status. In the house of her parents she is looked on as a temporary resident regardless of how much she may be loved. In her husband's home she will be recognized as the mother of his children and a real member of the household. Still, it is more by becoming a mother than by marriage itself that a girl acquires full adult status.

3.3233 When the family decides that it is time for their son or daughter to marry, they begin to make inquiries for a suitable partner through a professional match maker if a formal betrothal has not been arranged previously. In the case of a village boy, this often occurs when the family realized that their boy is spending too much time gambling, or in other trivial pursuits at local fairs. It is felt that such interests are not in accord with the welfare of the family. They also begin to fear that he may come in contact with bad women which might make it difficult for him to settle down. If a family is poor, the decision to marry a son may take considerable preparation. The family must not only think about the added funds necessary to support a larger family, but also must be able to supply sums of money and gifts to the household of the prospective bride. Such formal exchanges by the boy's family to that of the girl's is known as bride price or bride wealth.

3.3234 Once a suitable person is found, the two families exchange the exact hour of birth and the name of the individual to be married. Some preliminary agreement is made at this time on the nature of the gift exchange. A diviner is called to read the two horoscopes in order to determine if the match really is suitable. When this is done, a member of the boy's family, often his mother, and the match maker carry presents to the girl's family. This marks the formal agreement for marriage. The boy's mother and all those who may have gone with her are fed in the girl's home.

3.3235 The boy's family sends further gifts, at two additional times before the actual marriage. These are presents for the girl and a sum of money which is to be used to purchase the items that the girl will bring with her in her trousseau. Often the family of the girl keeps a portion of this money. When an auspicious day for the wedding is found, the boy's family sends bridal cakes made from rice dough, sugar and pork to the girl's house. These are distributed to her relatives, the neighbors and family friends. Now the girl may roll up her hair for the first time instead of braiding it, for at last she is sure of her marriage.

3.3236 The boy's family sends bearers to bring back the brides trousseau. They carry it through the streets so all can "count the worth of the bride". On the eve of the wedding day a red sedan-chair is sent to carry the bride. If the boy's family is wealth, a group of musicians and a whole party of people may accompany the chair. Sometimes there will be fireworks as well.

3.3237 In the home of the groom, the bridal room is prepared. Everything is cleaned and, if the family can afford it, all the furnishings will be new. An old woman who has many descendants may be invited to decorate the bridal bed with charms to insure wealth and many offspring. She may request that as many male infants as possible be allowed to sleep on the bed to insure that the new couple will have sons.

3.3238 On the morning of the wedding day the bride bathes and dresses. Her father carries her to the sedan-chair so that she may not carry the wind and water of her parent's home to her groom's house. Before she leaves, she pays proper respect to her ancestral shrine.

3.3239 Upon arrival at the groom's house, the bride is taken to the bridal bed where the groom is already seated. She is veiled and her face cannot be seen. There they sit side by side without speaking or touching for about fifteen minutes. The couple then are led out to the main part of the house where they are required to pay their respects to Heaven and Earth, the ancestral shrine, their guests, and each other. This completed, they return to the bridal room where the bride kneels down while the groom lifts off her veil. Thus he sees her face for the first time. The bride is then led behind a screen where she is helped to change her clothes while the groom waits. When she emerges, they sit down together to carry out the ceremony of eating and drinking together. Following this the couple must pay their respects to the kitchen god and finally to all the senior members of the household, one by one.

3.3240 When the family can afford it, a large wedding dinner is served after which the guests retire except for a few young men who remain to tease the bride. It is their task to try to make her laugh and joke with the young couple. Finally even these individuals leave and, at last, the newly weds are left alone for the first time.

3.3241 On the following day, the bridal couple return to the girl's home to receive presents and be entertained. They may stay for several days if the girl's family wishes it. Following this visit, the pair return to the groom's family where the serious life of married adults awaits them.

3.3242 The adjustment a girl must make to her new life is extremely great. She takes orders from her mother-in-law and is in no way master of her own life. If her mother-in-law is kind and understanding, her problem will be less, but should her mother-in-law be severe and harsh, her life can be extremely painful. In either case, her day will be filled with domestic duties and her sphere of activity extremely limited. Where the family does not need her help in the fields, she will remain within the house compound. It is not until she has her first child that she will receive some measure of real respect from her in-laws. Should she be lucky, and her first child be a boy, that respect will be even greater. With the birth of each additional son, her prestige will increase, but it is when her first son is married and brings his wife home to live with him that the woman achieves any real degree of authority in the household. If her number of married sons is great, her authority will be equally greater.

3.3243 Likewise, a son's position in the family increases with age and the number of his sons, since his major obligation to his family is the maintenance of the family line.

3.3251 Later years and Death. As the number of daughters-in-law increases, the amount of physical work a mother-in-law has to do decreases. The same is true of her husband as their son's grow up and relieve him of much of the physical and financial burden of the family. This is a period of relative ease for the older couple. They command respect and are the principal directing force of the family, although if a member of an older generation still lives they will still respect and go to him for guidance and advice about many matters. Their roles are that of advisers, and the performance of an increasing number of ritual duties. Now, as grandparents, both sexes are responsible for the spiritual and ritual maintenance of the family. The great difference between the authority of the male and that of the female has become less, so that now the grandmother receives almost equal importance to the grandfather. She still may be involved actively with the care of the grandchildren, but one of her major duties is the instilling of traditional values through example and story telling.

3.3252 Throughout life the father has remained more aloof from the children of the household and this is still true even in his later years. He continues to be catered to by all those who are younger than himself and demands their respect. For the Chinese, these later years are filled with happiness and personal satisfaction. People look forward to this period as one of the best times in life, surrounded as they are with their children and grandchildren.

3.3253 Death is never a pleasant affair. According to Chinese tradition, a person should not die on their bed but should be placed on a special platform. Likewise they should not die alone, but should be surrounded by their relatives so that their soul may not be alone and forgotten in the spirit world. When a death occurs both men and women begin to weep. A chief mourner is chosen from the nearest of kin, often the eldest son. The body is covered and a soul table is set up. On the table a special lamp is kept burning to furnish light for the soul on its journey. Mourners watch over the corpse in turn by the light of the lamp. Never is the body left alone until it is sealed in its coffin. Offerings, including special funeral money, are burned in clay vessels for the spirits use. Ritualized weeping and wailing is kept up by the women, and on the second day the body is washed, dressed in its burial attire and placed in the coffin. Some funeral money is placed with the body in the coffin for the spirit to use on its way to the netherworld. A soothsayer reads omens. Then the coffin is nailed shut while the mourners kneel and a priest reads prayers.

3.3254 The relatives dress in appropriate mourning clothes of white. The chief mourner performs the worship of the soul twice a day for as many as a hundred days. On the sixth day it is believed that the soul should have reached the netherworld. A priest is again called and ceremonies of one kind or another may continue for several months before the coffin is actually buried. The length of time that the family delays in burying the dead is an indication of the degree of loss felt, but to delay is to increase the cost of the funeral. Poor families may not even wait the six days that it takes the soul to reach the spirit world.

3.3255 Only individuals who have been married are entitled to any sort of ceremony. The unmarried, whether child or mature adult, do not even have the right to be buried in the ancestral graveyard. They are buried instead in the public cemetary.

3.3256 The family makes yearly trips to the ancestral graveyard on a set day. At this time they supply food and clothing for the deceased and feel that they are re-united with the dead. These trips to the graveyard also serve as a time of general family reunion. Many of the members of a single tsu come together at this time and eat as a single family among the graves.

3.3257 At home in the family shrine incense is offered daily to the dead by the women of the household. From time to time the names and relationships of the dead are recited or read by a senior male member of the household. Gradually even the smallest member of the family knows these lists by heart and the achievements of their ancestors. Thus the memory of the dead lives on for generations within the family.

Summary and Conclusion (3.33)

3.330 The first stage in the Chinese life cycle corresponds to the cross cultural division of infancy. The second, third, and fourth stages in the Chinese life cycle fall into the cross cultural division of childhood. There is no long transitional period from childhood to adulthood in China and thus no problem of adolescence. The fifth stage begins with marriage and brings with it adult status. The cross cultural division of adulthood certainly includes stages six and seven as well as five. The difficulty comes if we must place the eighth and last stage of the Chinese life cycle into the cross cultural category of old age. In order to do so, it would become necessary to modify the concept of old age. The birth of the first grandchild automatically places the grandparents into the last stage of the Chinese life cycle. Yet, this may occur while they are still relatively young and vigorous. Only the final period of the eighth stage adequately fits the cross cultural category of old age. This fact demonstrates that the cultural divisions of the life cycle may not always directly reflect specific biological developments in the continuum of any given human life.

The Tiv, A Tribal People (3.4)

3.401 The elders had gathered to hear cases and settle disputes. A man faced one of them and spoke, "Why does my age mate's wife remain ill? Are you not the head of the compound? Why have you not performed the necessary ceremony? Do you refuse because you are a witch who wants to eat her flesh?"

3.402 The elders stared at the youth. He had come with his age mates on behalf of a fellow member to accuse one of the tribe's most senior individuals of witchcraft. Anyone could be a witch. All the elders were witches. That was why people feared them. Nevertheless, witches were only people. They were subject to the opinions of the group like anyone else.

3.403 Under the watchful eyes of the others the old man had either to admit he was a witch or agree to the expensive ceremony. To admit he was a witch meant either ostracism if it had been a malicious act of neglect, or if it were not a malicious act, the loss of prestige, a fine and the expense of the ceremony as well.

3.404 "I am no witch," came the reply. "I have a good heart. The ceremony is to be held. I have sent for the one who will perform it."

Cultural Background (3.41)

3.410 For the Tiv, who lives without the aid of modern technology or medicine, just staying alive in the tropics is a constant battle. In their eyes nothing happens by chance. When misfortune strikes, the Tiv believe someone has caused it. Their suspicion and fear of witchcraft follow logically from this belief. Yet, suspicion and fear of witchcraft do not create an atmosphere of hopeless terror but provide a means by which the Tiv feel that they are the masters of their fate, for witches are only people. By public arbitration the Tiv deal with both suspicion and witchcraft forcing confession and enforcing compensation to the offended. It is through such catharsis and laughter that the Tiv have learned to live with natural hardships and to deal with their fellow Tiv without resort to warfare.

3.4111 History. The Tiv are an African people living in northern and central Nigeria. Since both they and their neighbors are for all practical purposes non-literate, the only knowledge the Tiv have of their past is contained in their oral tradition. The Tiv say they migrated from the southeast, but accounts differ as to whether they were driven to their present location by unfriendly tribes or whether conflict among the Tiv themselves was the major cause. The move apparently took place about 1854, but since the Tiv, unlike some non-literate groups, have little interest in history, either personal or of their group as a whole, this is all the information they can supply about their past. Other sources containing facts about the reasons for their migration or the route they followed are equally lacking.

3.4112 Examination of Tiv culture gives us some idea about the relationship of the Tiv to other groups in the area even if it cannot tell us specifically about their history. The Tiv speak a language which belongs to the Niger-Congo family of languages. These are a group of languages spoken by people in the Guinea Coast and throughout most of the Congo. All the languages in this family are related to each other in much the same way that the languages in Europe are related. Some aspects of Tiv social relations and political structure resemble groups to the south and east rather than to the more tightly organized kingdoms of the Guinea Coast. These facts help substantiate the belief that the Tiv probably moved to their present location relatively recently from the southeast.

3.4121 Geography. Tiv country extends from the foothills of the Cameroon mountains to the plains of the Benue River. It covers approximately 10,000 square miles and is the home land for about 800,000 Tiv. Some hills in the southern most part of this area reach an altitude of about 4,000 feet. It is here that deciduous trees grow in abundance. In lower altitudes, especially along the Benue River and its tributaries grass forms the principal land cover although trees are still present in places. During the rainy season, this grass sometimes reaches a height of eight to ten feet.

3.4122 The year is divided into two seasons; a wet season, from March through October, and a dry season, from November to March. Conditions permit crops to be grown in rotation throughout the year. The most important of these crops are millet, corn and yams. All of the available land has been under cultivation for generations and the country side is dotted with small villages.

3.4130 Tribal Culture. A Tribe is a local group made up of small kinship units bound together without necessarily having a developed political organization. These small units share a common way of life and are united through habit of association based on friendship and mutual esteem. The Tiv can be considered a tribal people. Unlike the Chinese, they have no elaborate written tradition to unite them over wide geographic areas or through long periods of time. Instead, the Tiv maintain their unity primarily by common language and geographic proximity. They are further united by a similarity in daily practices and a uniformity in belief. Neither do the Tiv resemble the Balkan peasants except that both are farmers. The Tiv are almost free from the demands of power-holders outside their own social group and do not form a class segment within a larger population. They are instead without class stratification. They are self sufficient and relatively isolated. What little surplus they produce is marketed locally without need to maintain close relationships with urban centers. Further, the Tiv lack our concept of profit making and our idea of reinvestment of surplus has no place in their lives. Government and power remain in their own hands with only minor exceptions.

3.4131 Economics and the Market. Subsistence farming is the main occupation of the industrious Tiv. This means that although the Tiv work hard, they seldom produce more than they themselves can consume. One of the major goals in the life of a Tiv is to fill his yam stores and his granaries.

3.4132 Fields are cleared during the rainy season, usually in November, and the planting of yams begins when the ground starts to dry. Men, women and children work together in the fields, but most of the hoeing and the planting of minor vegetable crops, like beans, is done by the women. Magical rites are part of farming. A ritual is held at the beginning of each season and at every important phase of the agricultural cycle. Even when a food is eaten again for the first time each year it is done with the appropriate ceremony.

3.4133 Tools which the Tiv use in farming are simple: a short handled hoe, machete and digging stick. The items of metal are acquired ready-made through trade with neighboring groups. This simple technology does not require draft animals. The livestock of the Tiv includes a very limited number of cattle, sheep and pigs. Goats, however, are abundant, and chickens, the most common of the domestic animals, are everywhere. Dogs, guinea pigs and cats are kept primarily as pets although dogs occasionally may be trained for hunting or the guinea pigs killed and eaten.

3.4134 Most Tiv are subsistence farmers, but a small number of individuals have worked on road gangs or as agricultural laborers. Wherever they have been employed, the Tiv are known to be good workmen. The Tiv are also craftsmen. Everyone spins, and the textiles they make are of good quality. Wood working is utilitarian. Tiv furniture is known for its durability and is not without artistic merit. These and other craft items, along with whatever agricultural surplus may be on hand find their way to the local market. It is through such enterprises that the Tiv have managed to accumulate more wealth than many of their neighbors.

3.4135 The markets are local affairs held every five days at distances of three to ten miles. They provide the Tiv with regular contacts beyond their own local groups. Markets serve not only for the exchange of goods but also as meeting places for friends, as centers for learning the latest news or spreading gossip, and as neutral areas when disputes arise between villages or larger groups. It is in the market place also, that many grievances are arbitrated and differences of opinion settled.

3.4141 Compound and Family. A group of round huts ranging in number from two or three to as many as forty can be found in a Tiv compound or village, but usually the number ranges between seven and ten. These structures are of three basic types: sleeping huts, reception huts and granaries. In the largest compounds there may be slightly over 140 individuals, but this is rare. The average compound will have about eighteen inhabitants, while the smaller ones may house as few as ten persons. The male members of a compound work together under the direction of a head man.

3.4142 The official head of a compound is its oldest male member and the compound is referred to by his name. He is responsible for the allocation of farmland to families within his compound, and no one under any circumstances can move into it without his consent. The arbitration of domestic disputes within the compound in one of his responsibilities, and if he is considered a wise and important individual he also may be called on to help solve problems involving other villages. When the head man becomes very old, he may permit a younger man to carry out some of his duties.

3.4143 The Tiv are polygynous. About thirty percent of the married men have more than one wife. A man must give brideprice to the family of the girl as part of every marriage agreement. This payment most frequently is made in livestock or food. A man must also supply a separate sleeping hut for each wife and her children. Usually a woman does not object to her husband taking a second wife, for it means that she will have additional help in the fields and with tasks around the village. Often very close bonds of friendship develop between co-wives. They come to the aid of each other in times of trouble. Should they feel their husband has shirked his duties or done them an injustice, they will act together to let him know their grievance.

3.4151 Lineage and Age Grades. The patrilineal lineage is one of the basic organizing principles of Tiv culture. Every lineage consists of a group of people who are descendants of a common male ancestor. Villages usually are inhabited by men of the same lineage and their wives. This group of males frequently consists of brothers, grandfathers and fathers. Lineage members own property in common and have certain rights and obligations toward one another as a result of common lineage membership. Thus the lineage forms the basis for local groups and cooperation. Since the Tiv practice lineage exogamy, this means that a man has to bring his wife from outside his own compound. It is not uncommon for one lineage to occupy several compounds in a limited geographic area. This then allows a man to establish relationships over an even wider geographic region through his wives.

3.23152 The age grade is another important organizing principle of Tiv culture. An AGE GRADE consists of individuals having approximately the same chronological age who have been classified or grouped together. Among the Tiv, a new age grade is created when an informal group of young boys is united through a ceremony. This happens approximately every three years, and it is necessary for someone in a senior age grade to sponsor the new group. By this act of sponsorship, a loose bond of mutual assistance is created between the sponsor and the members of the new age grade. The youths help their sponsor with physical labor while the sponsor comes to the aid of the youths with knowledge and experience as it is needed. Every male Tiv becomes a member of an age grade and the prestige of his grade increases as junior grades are formed beneath his and as the members of grades senior to his die. This process enables about sixteen to eighteen grades to be in existence at any one time.

3.4153 Once a Tiv boy becomes a member of an age grade, he is freed to some extent from the control of his family. He begins to participate in activities with his age mates and acquires a new frame of reference by which he can relate himself to an increasingly wider group of people. A network of permanent obligations of cooperation, solidarity and mutual help is established between age mates. Through his age grade a boy learns leadership, acquires knowledge appropriate to his development and receives the security of membership in his peer group.

3.4154 Age grades perform these and related functions wherever they exist. They stratify relationships within a culture helping to regulate an individual's social status and behavior to others. Among the Tiv, a senior grade always has more authority than one junior to it.

3.4155 Age grades and lineages together form the basis of Tiv political organization. Power and authority is not concentrated in the hands of a few. The village head men make the decisions for their own compound. Groups of compounds belonging to a single lineage are regulated by the elders of the lineage forming a political unit. Disputes between members of different age sets are brought before an informal council for elders where the difficulties are arbitrated by the senior members of each age grade and their sponsors if necessary.

3.4161 Religion. The religion of the Tiv is not a single unified system of belief. For example, the Tiv hold that every man has a soul. They may declare that the soul goes to heaven, or that it is transformed into a spirit and loses all its individual and human characteristics, or that it goes to live in the body of a man's children. None of these beliefs seem to affect each other. The Tiv do not find them inconsistent and can beleive in one, or any, or all of them.

3.4162 A god created the world, according to the Tiv. This god also placed in the world two great kinds of forces, both of which can produce either good or evil. "Akombo" is one of these. It is made up of many smaller natural forces. The Tiv believe if these natural forces become disturbed for any reason things will go wrong. It is then necessary to consult a Diviner who can determine which akombo is involved. The Diviner performs the necessary ritual to "set things right".

3.4163 Another force is "tsav". This is a personal force within man. It can be used for good or evil depending upon the individual. It is man's ability to cope with his surroundings, his ability to control the "akombo", his skill at a craft, his capacity to live long. It is the Diviner's great "tsav" that counteracts the "akombo." The Tiv believe that every person is born with"tsav", but that some people develop it and some people do not. A man with great power or skill, or any sort of ability obviously has a great "tsav". One with great "tsav" may be a witch, but one with great "tsav" need not be a witch. To have "tsav" merely endows a person with potentialities. It is up to the individual to direct them either for good or for evil.

3.4164 From time to time it is necessary to feed the "akombo." This is done by animal sacrifice. The Tiv also believe that all deaths are caused by members of the society of men who have great "tsav." This is required since the "akombo" demand human flesh to eat and only a man with great "tsav" has the power necessary to kill. Deaths which occur to feed the "akombo" are thought to be good since it is for the welfare of the tribe as a whole. Sometimes, however, a man may be accused of killing or attempting to kill someone in order to acquire personal power. Should such an accusation be made, the accused must prove his innocence to the satisfaction of the elders or be ostracized as a witch.

3.4165 In no way does this imply that the Tiv actually kill and then eat human flesh. This simply is their way of explaining the reason for any and every death. It makes the loss of a loved one meaningful to the welfare of the group as a whole.

3.4166 The Tiv are a proud people. They like to discuss their heritage. "And do you, however, great your knowledge may be, remember that you are a Tiv, remain a Tiv, and know the things of a Tiv; for therein lies your pride."

Life Cycle. (3.42)

3.4201 The Tiv do not discuss or think of positions in the life cycle as absolute. Instead, they compare one individual with another in a given situation. Thus a person is considered as a senior if he is the eldest or the most experienced member of the group. In another context, he may be the most inexperienced, thus its junior member. Under these circumstances we cannot expect to find special terms applied consistently to the stages of the Tiv life cycle. However, despite this lack of explicit recognition by the Tiv of set stages in their life, the Tiv do treat individuals differently according to their relative progression through life.

3.4202 There are six, possibly seven stages in the Tiv life cycle. They are not the same for men and women. From birth until a Tiv infant can sit alone easily, the mother tends her baby. This is the first stage of life. After the baby can sit alone, it is left in the care of a child nurse. This second period in the life of a Tiv lasts until the infant itself is old enough to be a nurse. It is between the ages of five and eight that a Tiv youngster assumes the responsibility of child nurse and enters the youngster into the third stage of life. Throughout this period, which lasts until the Tiv boy or girl is married, responsibilities increase. Theoretically marriage can occur almost any time after a boy is circumcised and a girl has menstruated for the first time, but it rarely occurs before a boy is eighteen or a girl is fourteen or fifteen. Marriage brings with it adult status and the fourth stage of life. The birth of the first child may be considered as entry into a fifth stage. It is the time when a woman gets a hut of her own. It is the time when a man is assured of having offspring, but the importance of this event for him in terms of attitude change by others toward him is not clear cut. Whether he should be considered as entering a new stage in life is debatable. The next sure stage for a man begins when he is about forty years old. It is then that he becomes an elder in the community with power and prestige. The final stage comes when he is quite old and can no longer take an active part in community life.

3.4203 A woman has no comparable stage to that of her husband when he becomes an elder, unless we equate this with the time when she has her first child. Her status remains about the same from that point until she reaches a point when she physically no longer can carry out the difficult tasks of farming. Death brings an end to life in every sense of the word for the Tiv as they have little concern for life after death.

3.4211 Life Begins. There is prestige in having a large family. It is a sign of prosperity as well. The onset of pregnancy is a time of happiness for the Tiv couple. As soon as a woman becomes aware that she is going to have a child, a feast of rejoicing is held. It is given in the compound of the woman's parents, for her and her family. Many chickens and a goat are killed, cooked and eaten. After the feast is over, husband and wife return home, and the announcement of the forth coming event to the maternal grandparents completed.

3.4212 The Tiv believe that many "akombo" may influence a woman and her unborn child during pregnancy and birth. If she gets sick or has some other physical trouble while pregnant, a diviner is consulted. Should she have difficulty giving birth, the Tiv believe it is either because she has committed adultery or because an "akombo" is interfering.

3.4213 When a woman begins to feel the pains of childbirth, the husband goes to a diviner who tells him which "akombo" is causing the pain. The expectant father then sends for an elder who is master of a large number of "akombo". The elder cuts off a piece of tobacco and touches it to the back of the expectant mother's hand while he utters as series of phrases. This releases her from the influence of the "akombo". When the ritual ends, the woman is considered ready to give birth.

3.4214 A woman usually returns to her natal compound to have her first child, but she will remain in her husband's village for all subsequent deliveries. Regardless of where the infant is born, a woman's mother tries to be present at the time of delivery. An old woman acts as midwife and the mother-to-be is attended by several women from the village. Should she be in her husbands compound, her mother-in-law and her co-wives also will assist. She is held and comforted throughout the birth process. Men usually are not present. The child is delivered in a hut. The expectant mother sits, reclining in a chair and the midwife sits on a stool in front of her. Leaves are put on the floor to receive the infant. Others are placed on a table for the afterbirth. When the infant is delivered, the umbilical cord is cut by the mid-wife with a bamboo splinter. If the new born remains silent, the midwife throws some cold water on it to make it cry. She then bathes the baby in warm water, oils its head and lays it beside its reclining mother.

3.4215 A small boy from the compound, who has not reached puberty, buries the afterbirth in a hole on the left side of the door. For her assistance, the midwife is given gifts including palm oil and salt. In some parts of Tivland, the midwife, the boy who buries the afterbirth, the new mother and all the women present at the birth eat a meal together.

3.4216 Immediately after birth several ceremonies are performed. The maternal kinsmen carry out ceremonies for the first child, later, but when subsequent children are born, this is the responsibility of the father's people. The women who are present at the birth may be required to cleanse themselves formally from the blood of birth.

3.4217 An infant usually is given a name within twenty-four hours of its birth by either the midwife or the mother. This name may reflect something that happened during the birth process or be the name of a friend. It makes no difference which is chosen. The infant, as he grows older, is not known by this name but by the one given to him by his father.

3.4218 When the umbilical cord falls off, it usually is buried near the afterbirth. The new born may now be taken from the hut for the first time. The mother bathes the baby, tosses it into the air several times, catches it and then holds it with its head down. The Tiv believe this will cure the child of dizziness and fear.

3.4219 The baby is cared for by its mother for the first few months. The infant will begin to sit up on the ground, when it is about three months old. As soon as the little one can sit without falling, it is handed over to an older *sibling* or some other child who becomes its nurse. Although it is not required, the nurse is usually the same sex as the infant. The day to day tending of the little one usually results in a life long friendship between the two. The mother, on the other hand, is freed to work in the fields where her labor is needed.

3.4220 It is the nurse, then, who first teaches the little ones about the Tiv way of life. They teach the infant to be silent on command. This is done by gently holding the baby's nostrils closed. The crying infant must gasp for breath, momentarily, stopping his crying. The first word a Tiv learns to say is "de" (don't), then "Taata" and "nam" (give me). A Tiv mother is pleased when her infant learns to say swearwords, for the Tiv think an infant who can swear is clever.

3.4221 When a youngster is between the age of two and three, the weaning process begins. Up until this time, it is the nurses duty to carry the baby to its mother whenever the little one needs to be suckled. Gradually the nurse sees to it that the toddler is kept away from its mother for longer periods of time. By now the staple adult foods are already part of the diet and the youngster eats almost everything. Thus, it is the nurse who actually accomplishes the weaning process. It is the nurse also who has the job of toilet training the young child.

3.4231 *Childhood*. Most of the people a Tiv child knows during the early years of his life are members of his extended family and lineage. He grows up with his brothers and sisters, his half-brothers and half-sisters, and his paternal cousins. Until he is approximately six or seven, his nurse takes care of him while his parents go to their fields to farm or perform other tasks.

3.4232 As a boy grows, he begins to demonstrate his abilities by killing crickets and lizards. Boys go around the compound in groups hunting crickets and killing them with sticks. Sometimes the boys hit a fig tree with stones until gum comes out. This they put on the end of a twig or stick. The crikets are caught when they get stuck in the gum. It is customary for the children to bake these crickets and eat them.

3.4233 When a boy is eight or nine, he begins to use play arrows. They are made by sharpening the mid-rib of large leaves. The bows are strung with twine. With this weapon, the boys hunt and kill lizards. They imitate their fathers and gradually learn to use their bows and arrows. By about thirteen, a boy starts to hunt birds and his father makes him a bow. His arrows are not yet tipped with iron but are made from small pieces of wood which are inserted into the shafts. Boys also follow their fathers to the fields and learn to plant, hoe and harvest.

3.4234 A little girl is taken care of by her mother or a nurse. She follows her mother around learning the everyday tasks a women must perform. She may help her mother gather fire wood or draw water from a well. She watches her mother pound corn, prepare a meal and work in the fields. As she grows older, she begins to participate more and more in all these activities.

3.4235 Tiv children assume serious responsibilities when they are quite young. They may be asked to be nurses by the time they are five. They help perform whatever work they can in the fields or at home. Boys learn their jobs from their fathers, while girls learn from their mothers. There is no formal school in Tivland. However, in the evenings after it gets dark, the old men and women of the compound gather around a fire with the children. There as they spin, they tell stories and play games. The children listen and learn about the mythology and customs of their people and are proud.

3.4236 Both boys and girls have their ears pierced between the ages of six and twelve. When a child decides to have it done, he tells his mother or father. If they think he is too young, they tell him he must wait or his ears will break off. When he finally gets their permission, he asks someone in the compound, who knows how, to perform the task. Once the sores heal, the child goes about teasing the other children who have not as yet had their ears pierced.

3.4237 Another milestone in the life of a Tiv boy or girl is cicatrization. This is done after a Tiv has his teeth filed. Both teeth filing and cicatrization are done to enhance personal attractiveness. Cicatrization is the permanent scaring of the body by making incisions in the skin for the purpose of beautification. There are different styles of cicatrization among the Tiv depending on age and sex. Scars usually are made on the face, neck, shoulders, back and arms. Lines are drawn on the body with charcoal in the desired design. These lines are then cut with a razor and charcoal is rubbed into the cuts. This causes them to stand out. The cuts are treated with a variety of medications until they heal. Children begin with mouth and face scars. The rest are added gradually throughout the lifetime of the individual.

3.4238 In the past, designs indicated group affiliation, but now they are only for personal attractiveness. Using a nail to cut the designs has become a fad among the young people. It was introduced to the Tiv from another tribe and has caused conflict between the young and old generation. A nail does not cause the scars to rise as the razor does. The younger boys think that the girls like the flat designs better than the raised ones. Now, raised scars have become a symbol of the past generation.

3.4239 Girls are cicatrized around puberty. The Tiv believe that a woman's stomach will become fat and flabby like "the ugly foreign women" unless they are scared. After a girl has her stomach scared, she teases all the girls who have not as yet had it done. They also praise the boys who have had their faces scared.

3.4240 An essential step in becoming a man in Tiv culture is circumcision; and every boy wants this done after his ears are pierced and his teeth are filed if it has not already been performed. Circumcision is not a communal ritual but an individual one. However, since a specialist is necessary to perform the task, groups of boys are circumcised at the same time. The age of circumcision varies from one or two years of age to a man's early twenties, but most boys are circumcised between the ages of six and thirteen. An iron razor is used to cut the skin. If a boy remains silent, he is praised; if he cries out, he is called a girl. Some boys even manage to joke during the operation. The parents of such a boy are very proud.

3.4241 After the operation, the boys wash their wounds daily and rub them with oil. They refrain from eating certain foods until the cut heals. Once the wounds heal the boys brag about this operation and now may begin to pay attention to girls. The Tiv believe that girls will not have anything to do with a man unless he has been circumcised and in fact, a man who is not circumcised does not marry or have any relations with women. He is considered insane and an outcast by the Tiv. Usually he spends his life roaming about the country begging.

3.4242 None of these events in the life of a Tiv are associated with a definite age, status or rite of passage. They happen in a casual way as the peer group puts pressure on individuals to have the various things done, or as in the case of circumcision, when there are enough uncircumcised boys in the compound to make it worth while to call in a specialist to perform the operation.

3.4243 As the young people continue to mature, they are given more and more responsibility. Weaving is done by the young men. They also carry out many of the heavy agricultural tasks. They hunt and participate with the men in a variety of activities. Girls also participate in the agricultural work. They assist in the compound with almost all of the daily chores and know that their contribution is a necessary part of the labor force. They are watched over carefully by their mothers and usually reach puberty without having had any sexual relations with boys. The Tiv do not have a "teen-age" problem.

3.4244 Age grades have been developing informally during a boy's childhood. The groups of small boys with their sponsors gradually unite into a single age grade by the time the boys are between eighteen and twenty. There is no formal initiation ceremony at this time. Brothers never belong to the same age grade even though they may be very close in age. Throughout a man's lifetime he knows he can count on his age mates in time of need.

3.4251 Adulthood. Marriage brings an end to childhood and begins full participation in adult life. It is customary for men to marry in their early twenties and women by about sixteen.

3.4252 A common African practice through which a man acquires a bride is the payment of brideprice. Brideprice refers to the obligation a man has to the family of his bride. He is required to give them some form of wealth. For the Tiv, this payment need not be great, a goat, some gifts of food and perhaps a little money. The amount is decided by a representative from the bride's family, her marriage guardian, and the father of the groom. Witnesses are always present for both sides. Once the amount is settled, the groom may take the bride to his compound, but the marriage is not considered legal until the bridewealth is paid in full. Sometimes a Tiv man and woman elope. This is called "stealing a wife" and is prestigious for the groom. When the couple return to the groom's compound, the bridewealth is negotiated.

3.4253 There are chances for young Tiv to meet. A common place is at the regular markets. It is often through such meetings that elopments become possible. Still, a large percentage of the marriages are arranged by individuals other than the young couple themselves. However, since divorce is rather common and requires the girl's family to pay back the brideswealth and a compensation for each child, it does not pay them to arrange a match that is not satisfactory to the couple. Once payment is made, the children are free to live with either parent and the women may remarry at any time.

3.4254 The arrival of the bride in her husband's compound necessitates a celebration. There is dancing, singing and general merriment. The new bride stays with her mother-in-law and is secluded for several days. If her husband has other wives, she is taken to the hut where she will live when her period of seclusion is over. If she is his first wife, she remains with her mother-in-law. The day following the end of her seclusion, she begins immediately to help her mother-in-law or co-wives in their fields. Later, her husband will provide her with a piece of land of her own to farm, and when her first child is born, he will build her a separate hut. The huts of a man's wives are clustered around his main reception hut, and several such clusters of huts make up a compound or village.

3.4255 Farming is the main economic activity of every Tiv. A man must have sufficient land to provide a living for his family. He is obligated to give each wife a piece of land to farm. Women from a single compound work together in their fields. They are organized under the leadership of senior women. If the group is composed of co-wives, this woman is usually the senior or first wife. Work done in the compound is carried out in a similar fashion. The senior wife is responsible for the behavior of her junior wives at all times.

3.4256 Men, like women, prefer to work in groups. Usually members of the same age grade work together. A man's age grade is of great importance to him during his productive years. They work on each other's farms in rotation with the recipient of the labor for the day providing food and beer for all.

3.4257 Besides having a family and being economically independent, a Tiv man seeks power and influence. This is done through the acquisition of authority to practice "akombo" rites. Knowledge of these rites is a monopoly of the elders. Man's advancement in such affairs depends largely on his position within his age grade and his relationship to the elders. None can acquire control of an "akombo" without the elder's consent.

3.4258 As much as a young man aspires to control and practice "akombo" rites, he must be careful not to offend one of the powerful elders by making his intent too obvious. Every young man must maintain a delicate balance between acquiring prestige through leadership in his age grade and becoming too prominent in the presence of the elders. He must receive his right to control the "akombo" through the elders, but at the same time he fears them since they have power for good or for ill. Before a man reaches forty, the main purpose of his age grade is not only economic assistance but mutual protection against the elders. The whole age grade may appear at a meeting if they suspect an elder of performing a ritual act against any one of their members.

3.4259 The Tiv ideal of a leader is a man who speaks quietly but with conviction. He should be sincere and demonstrate that he is intelligent. A hasty man or one who loses his temper is often despised. Leadership is not inherited. It is earned through personal deeds. A man may gain affluence through wealth and wealth display. He may rise from a man of affluences to one of influences and prestige through acquisition of "akombo" rites, still, to be a real leader, he must demonstrate his intelligence in a variety of ways. A Tiv woman's way to prestige is by giving large parties of a variety of kinds. The more she can display her wealth, the more prestige she can gain in her compound. She also may be known as a good gardner, the producer of many children, or a judicious handler of her family affairs.

3.4261 Later Years and Death. After the members of an age grade reach approximately their fortieth year, the primary purposes of the age grade are no longer so important. Now a man acquires the status of elder and competition for leadership becomes acute. This competition breaks down the solidarity of the age grade. Members are no longer dependent on one another for protection from the elders nor are they as actively involved in economic pursuits. By the time the members of an age grade have reached their fiftieth year, their age grade has become nothing more than a sentimental association. As the men grow older, their grades tend to combine. Young men say "all old men have one age grade."

3.4262 Many rights and powers are acquired when a man becomes an elder. He gains prestige through wealth and magical rites, but he also is assured of respect and influence just because of his age. The Tiv believe that an elder should "know things" simply because he has lived longer, done and seen more things. Gradually he has gained control over many "akombo" and now can perform rituals to aid the younger Tiv in their daily activities. An elder is also expected to have knowledge of the families among whom he has influence. He should know their geneologies and histories. This knowledge helps him when he is called to arbitrate disputes between individuals and families. Elders not only have the power for good, they have the power to bewitch and prevent bewitching. This guarantees their authority within their sphere of influence.

3.4263 When a man becomes ill, the members of his family or age grade go to a diviner. The diviner determines which "akombo" is causing the illness. The elders are then asked why they have not protected the sick man, since it is their duty to do so. A sacrifice is made. If the sick man recovers, he is thought to have been cured by the force of the elder's "tsav".

3.4264 The elders may investigate the cause of a man's illness if a diviner names someone as the cause. Sometimes a trial is held and the accused is confronted with the charge. After long deliberation, the elders agree that all evil thoughts must be washed away. A boy brings water and all cleanse their hearts from evil.

3.4265 The Tiv believe that death has two causes. One is the immediate cause such as illness, violence, or accident. The other is the ultimate cause. This is witchcraft. No medicine or cure of the immediate cause is possible until the ultimate cause has been found and delt with. Only then does it become possible to treat the immediate cause.

3.4266 If a young man dies, he is buried without "akombo" rites. However, when an elder dies, he is laid out in his house and cannot be buried until all the "akombo" under his power have been "set right". A son or brother buys a chicken and kills it for each one of the "akombo". Should this not be done, the individual who should have performed the rite will be unlucky in farming.

3.4267 A person usually is buried within twenty-four hours after he dies. The body is washed by relatives. A cloth is tied over the face and another over the entire body. The individuals present at the death watch over the body until it is buried. An important elder is buried in the yard of his compound and a roof is placed over his grave. His clothing and other possessions are spread over the roof and on the floor. A fire is kept burning, beer is brewed and a feast takes place. An ordinary person is buried by the side of a path near the village.

3.4268 The grave is dug by the closest male relative of the deceased. The body is placed in the grave with its face toward the rising sun. The grave is filled and dirt piled on top, making a small mound. Women are not allowed to look into an open grave. Old women stand around singing mourning songs and uttering loud cries of lamentation. Continued mourning is an individual affair and is usually observed by wife and mother. During this period they will dress less ornately and lately some wear black. The period is indefinite and sometimes lasts several days, sometimes a year.

3.4269 After the burial, a dead man's possessions are distributed among his male kinsmen. A woman's things are also given away. The relatives hold a meeting to try to determine the ultimate cause of death. All the possible individuals who might have wanted the person to die are considered. Long standing grudges are discussed and the air of human relationships cleared. Discussion continues until some decision is made. Finally the Tiv return to their daily tasks knowing that they are masters of their own fate.

Summary and Conclusion (3.43)

3.431 The first two stages of the Tiv life cycle may be included in the cross cultural division of infancy. This period is longer for the Tiv than it is for either of the other two cultures already discussed. An infant is only recognized as a child after he or she is able to assume certain duties, the most important being, the responsibility for the care of a baby. The cross cultural division of childhood thus includes only the third stage in the Tiv life cycle. The fourth stage begins with marriage and introduces the Tiv into the cross cultural division of adulthood. Adulthood continues thru stage five or six depending upon whether you view the Tiv as having six or seven stages in their life cycle. Perhaps the most satisfactory view, is to see Tiv women as passing through seven stages and Tiv men as passing through six. In either case, the final stage of life as recognized by the Tiv corresponds to the cross cultural division of old age.

3.432 The Tiv study illustrates not only that life cycle patterns may be different from culture to culture, but that the life cycle of men and women within a given culture may not necessarily be alike.

THE UNITED STATES, A MODERN NATION 3.5

3.501 Angie Rosetti anxiously waits for her husband's arrival. It is nearly six o'clock. She walks to the dining room table and fingers the ribbon around the new desk-set with his name and title engraved on it.

3.502 As Angie walks back to the kitchen she thinks about her beautiful new home and all the lovely things she has been able to purchase with her credit cards. Only momentarily does she remember the monthly payments on them and on Jim's impressive new car. After all, the transfer of Jim's supervisor has made him a likely candidate for a promotion.

3.503 As Jim's car pulls into the driveway, Angie observes the nervous expression on his face through the kitchen curtains and hastily hides the new desk-set. It is going to be difficult enough to tell him about the new life that is stirring within her.

Cultural Background 3.51

3.510 It may seem a formidable undertaking to describe life in the United States. So many diverse cultural backgrounds are represented by our people and their immigrant origins that we frequently have been termed the "melting pot of the world". There is a wide range of beliefs, occupations and interests in the United States. There are vast differences between life in a small mid-western town and life in a great urban center. Yet outsiders tend to agree that at present, Americans are very much alike in outlook and in manner. Relatively speaking, Americans are marked by a high degree of consensus and similarity. It even is possible to speak of a distinctly American culture. American culture exists, and may be stated in its bolder outlines by the anthropologist. When extreme variation is screened out, the major themes of American culture can be brought into clearer focus. We can, with very broad strokes of the brush, paint the variegated picture which is American culture.

3.5111 History. American culture draws from the Judaeo-Christian and Graeco-Roman cultural traditions as they were blended and modified through the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution in Europe. Comparatively speaking, we are a young culture, not yet 200 years old. The lasting influence of European settlement on the North American continent began less than 500 years ago. The next 300 years after discovery witnessed Spain, France and England in a competitive struggle over the land and its resources. The native American Indians, residents on the continent for more than 15,000 years, were victimized and eventually decimated not only by the power struggles among the great European nations, but also by the people of the young westward expanding nation.

3.5112 Our present population is derived largely from two sources of waves or migrations from Europe. While the western frontier was being rolled back, people from northern Europe came to these shores in large numbers. With the passing of the frontier, millions more came from southeastern Europe to become wage earners in the industrial cities. From a handful of starving colonists in Virginia we have grown to a nation of some 200,000,000. In the light of world history we are infants, our independence and national boundaries established only yesterday. Yet the United States today is one of the most powerful and wealthy nations on earth. American culture has become a far-reaching and pervasive influence in the modern world.

3.5121 Geography. Within the limits of the United States the surface of the land is as varied as its inhabitants. On the Atlantic border there is a relatively narrow coastal plain flanked on the west by the Appalachian mountain range. Beyond is the valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries,the Prairies and the Great Plains. Westward again is the highland region bordered on the east by the Rocky Mountain Range and on the west by the Sierra Nevada-Cascade Ranges. Finally, there is the Coastal Range sloping sharply to the Pacific Ocean. On our northern border are the Great Lakes; on the southern border is the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande River. Far out in the Pacific are the temperate islands of Hawaii, and northward across Canada lies Alaska, our largest and coldest state.

3.5122 In a country of such vast extent, the scenery and local conditions vary greatly. The Northeast, of rolling hills and low mountains, is covered with forest and dotted with thousands of small lakes. It has little in common with the arid cactus-spotted deserts of the Southwest; with the Southeast of low-lying sandy pine barrens, humid swamps, and slow muddy rivers; or with the Northwest of snow-capped mountains and forested highlands reaching to the Pacific. There is equally striking contrast between the tropical and moist heat of the gulf coast and the dry air of the high western plateaus; and between the long cold winters of Maine and the hot dry summers of the Southwest. Despite the enormous variation, American culture exists and pervades the land. The high technological accomplishments of the culture have allowed comparative freedom from the potentially limiting factors of geography. In a sense, we have the ability to create our own environments.

3.5131 Mass Culture. American culture frequently has been termed a "mass culture". This means that although our population is large, diverse and spread over a wide geographic area, it still can be considered one unit participating in one culture. All kinds of people who never see each other are bound closely together in mutual dependence and integrated into a single whole. For example, the city housewife may seem to have little in common with the farmer who produces the food she buys, the people who prepare and package it, or the truckers who bring the items to the stores. Still, they all are dependent on each other and are parts of a single system. Despite the diversity there is an overall way of life common to this large whole. This common way of life is "mass culture".

3.5132 Control is important in a mass culture. In American culture, the activity of all its members are controlled closely to protect the weak or innocent and to provide for certain needs of the total population. Everyone, therefore, is subjected to an increasing number of taxes, rules, regulations, and other kinds of controls. On one hand, licenses, insurance of all kinds, standardization and conformity are required. On the other hand, the poor are fed, clothed and given medical attention; the unfortunate are provided with elaborate systems of care and rehabilitation, and education is provided for the capable and incapable. There is constant pressure in American culture to pass more laws, and, in effect, make more and more people behave alike. This is one way Americans have produced their mass culture or common way of life.

3.5133 Communication is crucial in a mass culture. In order for such a diverse mass of people to participate in a single culture, they must somehow communicate with each other. How is this accomplished? Certainly it is not through personal association as it is in tribal situations. Consensus is accomplished through mass communication, and the high level of technology that makes it possible. The mass media--television, radio, magazines, newspapers--provide a major means of achieving order and conformity in the face of potentially chaotic diversity. Rich and poor alike, for example, read *Life* magazine and share in the information it disseminates. Such mass communication tends to reduce diversity, and is therefore very important to the development of a mass culture as it exists in America. Mass communication is, in fact, the key to understanding a mass culture and the lives of its people.

3.5141 *Economics*. American culture is highly industrialized. The economic system is characterized by the mass production of standardized products. Such production is dependent on factories wherein the ideas of power, accuracy, speed, economy, system, continuity and repetition are paramount. Skill is sought largely in machines rather than in the artisans as is the case in peasant economies. Machines can be standardized to a high degree whereas artisans cannot endlessly reproduce exact copies of their specialty. Mass production requires that men and machines be synchronized, time being of utmost importance. The ultimate in mass production can be seen on the assembly line where raw materials are transformed entirely by a few men manipulating an electronic control board.

3.5142 Another characteristic of American economy is extreme job specialization and a mass division of labor. Labor is divided minutely among many different specialists. One man, for example, may be charged with a very small task which is performed repeatedly on an automobile assembly line, and never see the finished product.

3.5143 Mass marketing is a vital part of the economics of American culture. Mass production tends to become self-generating by producing ever expanding markets. An artisan cannot compete in the mass market. He is forced to take a job in a factory or in some service institution, and becomes a heavy consumer himself. He is pressured to change his economic ideas so that consumer credit and installment buying replaces his old practices of saving and cash payment. The mass communication media helps transform his old tastes to conform with those prevalent in American culture. Massive advertising campaigns helps achieve this by motivating him to select one brand rather than another, or by stimulating a desire for a change even though an old item was still serviceable. This is how mass production generates mass markets and creates enough demand for ever increasing production. A night of television commercials demonstrates admirably how basic these strategies are to the economics of American culture.

3.5150 Urbanism. One precondition for the emergence of a mass culture is urbanization. American people tend to live in, and organize their lives around, large densely settled communities. When people live in scattered places or in small communities, it is impossible to develop the kind of communication which provides the foundations of mass culture. The United States is a nation of cities. Seventy percent of its people live in cities, and the rest are not beyond their influences. Even rural people today live an urban way of life largely because they are in constant communication with the cities through the mass media. Many rural people even work in the cities each day. This is strikingly different from the situation in peasant or tribal economics. The modern city is the center from which mass culture emanates and spreads its influence over all parts of the land. It is the fountainhead of American culture.

3.5161 Associations. In American culture, individuals are increasingly detached from kin and traditional loyalties. There are a large number of possible personal acquaintances and contacts, but these tend to be fleeting and temporary. Individuals move a great deal. This is noticeable in daily activities, in moving from house to house (even in the same town), in job and occupation changes, and shifts in social status.

3.5162 The family is important in American culture but certainly not to the degree found in simpler cultures. In less complex cultures where kinship is everything, even distant relatives are important because if one is not a kinsman he is likely to be an enemy. The family in America is called the nuclear family: it consists of two parents and their children. Other relatives tend to have very little importance.

3.5163 The important acquaintances in American culture are essentially non-kin. They are largely impersonal and utilitarian. A housewife may talk to a clerk everyday for years without knowing his name or even wanting to know. Yet their mutual dependence in the culture is undeniable. Aside from these everyday impersonal contacts, American culture is characterized by a proliferation of voluntary associations of all kinds--the P.T.A., service clubs, do not exist in less complex cultures because there is no need for them. They are very important, however, to the smooth functioning of American culture and provide a major channel for communication and action.

3.5171 Religion. At first glance, American culture seems to be characterized by a multiplicity of religions. This seeming diversity is, however, superficial. It is true that there are a large variety of religious institutions. These function in the mass culture largely as other voluntary associations do, for purposes of communication and action. They differ on certain theoretical points, but beneath the surface differences, is a core of belief, a set of assumptions which is basically the same. Catholicism, Judaism, and Protestantism all strongly reflect the common culture in which they participate. Catholicism in America is different from Catholicism in Spain because it is operating in a different cultural context. Thus, in an American setting, even an internationally organized church takes on a flavor that is distinctly American.

3.5172 The basic religious beliefs of American culture are rational rather than mystic. The universe is viewed as a system which operates in terms of discoverable scientific laws. Americans believe that man can manipulate it, work on it, and need not accept the universe as it is. This belief leads to action and concern with the present and future rather than passive acceptance of things as they are. That Americans "make war" on poverty, "wipe out" illiteracy, "conquer" space reflects this basic belief about the nature of the universe. Although a supreme god is usually seen to rule over the universe, he is generally viewed as rather remote and detached from the everyday world.

3.5173 Americans also tend to be practical and empirical rather than theoretical or dogmatic. They are skeptical. They are more concerned with results than with ancient knowledge or past wisdom. If the standard of living keeps rising, Americans tend to believe that "all's right with the world".

3.5174 American beliefs focus on the individual rather than on kin, class, groups, or any collectivity. It is assumed that a man's moral responsibility is a personal matter resting in his private conscience. Self improvement is considered an individual's responsibility but at the same time man is held to be inherently corrupt. The dilemma which these views create leads Americans to believe that inner conflict is the very essence of human existence. To control the extreme consequences of the dilemma, however, Americans rely more on psychiatry than upon religious solutions.

3.5175 Americans are committed to the proposition that all men are created equal and that each should have an equal opportunity to show what he can do. Democratic equalitarianism is a basic belief in American culture. As a part of this belief, Americans generally welcome change as progress and look to the future, concerning themselves with the past only as a possible key to what may be. These form the core of religious belief in American culture.

The Life Cycle 3.52

3.5211 If we can speak of an average or typical American, he would be of the so-called "middle class." Since this general class includes the largest number of persons in the United States, it seems reasonable to concentrate on understanding the life cycle of this type of individual.

3.5212 The life cycle in American culture can be viewed in terms of five major stages. One could easily argue for more or even less stages because divisions are not always clear cut. These five major stages also are divided into a series of sub-stages which could be signaled out and discussed individually. Since our purpose, however, is to present a clear broad outline capable of being easily compared with the other case studies, the most logical sequence is to use is the five stage division.

3.5213 During the first major stage of life in American culture, an individual's primarily reference point is the home. A combination of factors including control of eliminatory functions, ability to walk and regular daily attendance in a pre-school or school marks the beginning of childhood the second stage. The third stage in American life cycle is adolescence. It begins at about puberty but has no clear beginning or end. The individual is neither child nor adult as he passes through this difficult time of transition. The fourth stage is adulthood. Now the individual usually establishes a nuclear family of his own and becomes a full active member of American culture. The later years of declining activity constitute the last stage in the American life-cycle. These years can be extremely difficult in America because of the great emphasis placed on youth and vitality.

3.5221 Life Begins. Scientific knowledge provides the primary basis for beliefs about conception and the pre-natal development of the child. This is consistent with the high value placed upon science and its findings in American culture. Thus, despite stories told about storks bringing babies, Americans believe that an ovum (egg) in the mother's body is united with a sperm cell from the father as a result of sexual intercourse.

3.5222 Children are typically desired by Americans, providing they are not too numerous. A marriage is deemed incomplete without at least one child. However, pregnancy generally is regarded as uncomfortable and restrictive. It is anticipated with mixed feelings of joy, fear, and embarrassment. Women are supposed to be particularly careful of their health during pregnancy, especially in controlling a tendency to overeat. They are usually under a doctor's care for the entire period. Birth almost always takes place in a nearby hospital with a doctor aiding in the birth process. Birth takes place with the mother lying on her back. If the birth is unusually difficult, surgery or some other scientifically appropriate measure is performed by the attending physician.

3.5223 A kind of ceremony of expectation called a "shower" sometimes is given prior to birth by friends of the mother. This is a party or social gathering at which gifts for the mother and expected infant are given. After the baby arrives, the parents may send cards announcing the birth, and the father may give out cigars or some other symbol as an announcement of the birth. The parents are congratulated and more gifts may be received.

3.5224 The tiny infant born into the family is considered a potential--a bundle of emotional, intellectual, and physical traits which are inherited. This potential can only be realized gradually and conditionally as the child develops, and it may be influenced by training and growth. Parents and all other environmental factors are thought to be important influences on the development of the child.

3.5225 Usually a baby is given its legal name while it is still in the hospital. This is done without ceremony by either or both parents. Personal, or first names, are chosen for a variety of reasons; in remembrance of a special ancestor, relative, or friend, or simply because someone liked the sound of the name. The child's last name is the same as that of his father. Together these are his legal name and give him legal status in the community. A naming ceremony for the infant often takes place later. It is typically a religious ceremony--a christening or a baptism--that occurs within the religious community. Frequently, it is part of a regular church service, but sometimes the ceremony is specially arranged.

3.5226 In most Jewish communities of the United States (though here there are differences between Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jewish groups), the first formal ceremony for boys in the life cycle takes place on the eighth day after the birth of the child. In the case of a weak or sick baby, the ceremony is postponed. This ceremony is called "Brith", a Hebrew word for convenant. The ceremony involves circumcision, an important religious rite among the Jewish people. As at all Jewish religious ceremonies, at least ten men including the Rabbi must be present to represent the community. An additional person, the Mohel, is trained for the operation. Though he may be an outsider, the circumcision is performed by him. Also present is the Sandek, or god-father of the child, who takes part in the rites along with the parents. At the close of the ceremony the child is formally named. This religious rite is often followed by a family feast or celebration for all the relatives and friends of the parents. The young child is now a formal member of the Jewish community. He has completed the sign of the convenant of Abraham given in Genesis 17:9-14 which is believed to bind Israel to God.

3.5227 During the first years of life an individual is primarily the responsibility of the mother or some female mother-substitute. Mothers consider it natural and largely inevitable for babies to cry a great deal, although crying is disliked and happy babies are admired. The mother's reaction to a crying infant depends upon her idea of what is bothering him. She generally responds to crying with attempts to comfort and attend to physical needs. If, however, it is felt that the baby only desires attention, crying may be temporarily ignored. Some Americans believe that too much attention spoils an infant.

3.5228 Infant care practices are shifting constantly from strictness to permissiveness and back again. These patterns are different with various segments of the American population. The general trend for the past quarter of a century appears to aim at flexibility. Only about two out of five babies are breast fed, despite the scientifically revealed advantages for both mother and child. Mothers are increasingly more likely to feed their children on demand. This demand feeding, however, soon approximate a schedule. Presently, there are indications that weaning from both the breast and the bottle may be taking place at an earlier age. Further, there appears to be increased leniency in practices of toilet training. Methods of infant care vary according to cultural background and type of community.

3.5229 Americans believe that the earlier years are most important in shaping a person to become a well adjusted member of his culture. During these years the personality is shaped. Perhaps for this reason, in the early years the mother's relationship with her child tends to shift from care to training and control. Proper discipline is felt to be important to personality and good character development.

3.5230 Almost all of the habits which parents expect a baby to acquire--such as eating solid foods, feeding himself, walking, talking, and toilet training--are considered "tasks" which must be learned. However, American attitudes now increasingly demand that all changes be introduced slowly. Breast feeding, when used, is replaced by the bottle, and this in turn by the cup. Often a special cup with a flattened spout is used first to make the learning process easier for the young individual. Canned baby foods and cereals are often introduced even before the child can feed himself. This progresses to junior foods and finally to adult foods.

3.5231 Signs in babies of "readiness" for toilet training may be looked for, and these vary according to the parents. This training involves teaching the toddler to associate certain body processes with the toilet. Walking and talking are encouraged by example and practice. The ideal methods of training the individual for these tasks vary from generation to generation and from group to group. Lower class parents are more likely to employ physical punishment for misbehavior, whereas middle class parents rely more on reasoning, isolation, and other similar methods.

3.5232 Besides these physical tasks, there are social and psychological tasks to be mastered. These include learning to distinguish what is considered to be right from what is considered to be wrong and learning to relate oneself emotionally to parents, siblings, and other people.

3.5233 Parents are delighted with their infant's signs of physical and social growth, and continually make comparisons with other children. Especially when it is the first baby, a mother often keeps elaborate records of this progress. Motor activity is stimulated by play and by a wealth of toys -- balls, blocks, toys to pull with chains, toys to shake, and toys just to hold.

3.5234 Short trips from home bring the youngster into limited contact with other people and encourage social development. Too much social contact during this period, however, is believed to "tire" or to "spoil" the infant. Even babies learn that interaction with others is spaced and separated by periods of solitude. Certain types of unpleasant behavior and attention-seeking are ignored by adults to teach the youngster that people are willing to share time only with pleasant individuals. In other words, unpleasantness must be covered up when in the presence of others.

3.5235 As the toddler masters walking and talking, new tasks are introduced while earlier ones are refined. He learns to dress himself and he gains a general awareness of the rules of modesty. Even though most parents believe that they should not make an issue of modesty they are, nevertheless, especially concerned that their children should not be improperly exposed outside the home.

3.5236 A general daily routine is learned in which three meals are interspersed with play activity, naps, and an early bedtime. Putting children to bed early gives parents extra time alone in the evening but it may also create the necessity for getting up as early in the morning as their children do.

3.5237 Play includes indoor games, drawing, and a multiplicity of toys such as blocks, dolls, toy guns, and stuffed animals. Television has become a major "play activity" for young Americans as well as old ones. Many programs, particularly in the morning hours, are especially geared to the youthful audience. The amount of time and the type of television programs watched by children depends upon their parents' decisions. Some parents feel that too much television, especially "danger" and "thriller" stories, is bad for development. However, most youngsters are allowed to watch television a good portion of the day. All play activity including watching television may take place alone or in groups.

3.5238 Even during these early years parents tend to encourage different types of play activities for boys and girls, even though the natural tendency seems to be for them to like to do the same kinds of things. Outside activities gradually increase in number with the age of the child. A physical area is usually reserved for outside play. An individual and his playmates learn to ride tricycles and play in sand boxes. There is usually a variety of material things with which the youngster can play. Learning to share these toys is considered to be a very important part of the socialization process during this period. Parents also expect their offspring to be popular and not bullies. At the same time, youngsters must be able to "stand up for their rights" so as not to be bullied themselves.

3.5239 During this period, a youngster's position in the play group is based primarily on his or her own abilities. The parents' status is usually not a great factor. However, parents do encourage their children to play with others who have "a good character and good manners". Parents often choose to live in neighborhoods where their neighbors are the kind of people they want their children to be around.

3.5240 The mother is still the most important person in the youngster's life. If something happens to the mother, a substitute is usually found immediately. This may be a relative such as an aunt or grandmother, or perhaps, a "new mother." Grandmothers are important mother substitutes when they live in the same town, especially when mothers must be away at work for sizeable portions of the day. Thus, grandmothers may have a major role in child training.

3.5241 Fathers are absent much of the time, but when present they often assume disciplinary authority. The relationship of a child with his father may vary according to the amount of time the father spends at home and his personal feelings of how much time he wants to spend with the children.

3.5242 Throughout this period, the pre-schooler is encouraged to develop other relationships. He may be placed under the care of an older sibling or a baby sitter who has the right to instruct him. Playmates and siblings play an important part in developing sociability. Contact with adults outside the family, however, is limited mostly to relatives, the mothers of playmates, and babysitters.

3.5243 Respect for adults is taught during the early years. When frustrated in their desires by parents, children may react with tantrums, by direct aggression, or most often by crying. Most mothers want their children to be able to control their feelings and to reach reasonable solutions to various problems on their own. Expression of anger toward peers is less of a concern to parents. Arguing and play fighting, within certain limits, may even be encouraged for boys as defensive measures. For girls, only verbal defence is encouraged. This is one instance of the differentiation between boys and girls which starts to be important at an early age. Another example is the difference in clothing.

3.5244 The changes that occur during these early years are gradual and cumulative. The young individual is kept fairly close to his home and to his mother or mother-substitute, who is still the most important person in his life.

3.5251 *The Early School Years.* In order to become an intelligent productive member of American culture, the young must be formally educated. When a child reaches the age of about five or six, sometimes even earlier, he begins to spend about half of the daylight hours away from home under the supervision of a new adult - his teacher. He associates with a large group of his peers in a place designed for formal education and training, usually a public school.

3.5252 During this early period of education, the child's world grows to include a larger peer group. Work and play are more organized. He begins to learn adult concepts. He is introduced to adult logic, symbolism, and communication. The child learns the physical skills and rules necessary for organized activities such as ball games. He begins to build new, and hopefully wholesome, attitudes toward his body and growth. Americans tend to stress the physical attractiveness of children, so correct health habits and practices are especially encouraged.

3.5253 This is also a period when greater emphasis is put on learning to get along socially with age mates of both sexes and of learning the differences in behavior considered appropriate for males and females. At this age, girls are as well suited for physical activity as boys. Yet, the more strenuous physical activities are considered appropriate for boys only. Ideally, girls are supposed to be more subdued. Appropriate sex roles differ between social classes. The lower class boy is expected to be a good aggressive fighter, while the middle class boy is taught to fight only in self-defense.

3.5254 When the child starts school, for the first time in his life he is confined to one room for most of the day and is required to sit for long periods of time. He must wait his turn to speak and must do what the teacher tells him to do. He must learn a new schedule and keep to it. Thus, regulated time becomes an important pressure in his life. The child also learns that praise does not come as frequently as it did at home. He is compared openly with others. He begins to learn his standing among his schoolmates. This sudden departure from the home life to the demands of school sometimes produces signs of emotional disturbance which may include pants-wetting, crying, or frequent absence from school.

3.5255 After school hours, children usually are free to play with friends who are frequently of the same sex. Although there is less direct adult supervision, parents continue to influence the choice of these playmates somewhat and require children to notify them of their whereabouts. Age differences in these neighborhood play groups tend to be greater than in those at school, where classes rarely contain individuals who differ more than a year in age. Regardless, the pattern of leadership and authority within the group is based largely on individual achievement and personality traits.

3.5256 Organized outdoor games have become important by this time, especially for boys. Children in the United States are involved increasingly in various formally organized activities. These include Scout programs, choirs, baseball teams, dancing and etiquette classes. Some Americans feel that children's lives are filled up excessively with such organized activities, and that children have no time to be children anymore.

3.5257 During the summer months when school is no longer in session, trips may be taken to new places. Also during summer vacation, there are sometimes organized activities such as vacation church school, organized sports and camp programs. Inspite of all of these social activities, children also spend some of their time alone reading or watching television.

3.5258 At home, children have certain individual rights and obligations to fulfill, both of which increase with age. Parents often give their children a room of their own with a place for their own possessions, toys, keepsakes, souvenirs and collections. Sometimes, however, siblings of the same sex may share a room though some privacy still is conferred through separate beds and separate places to keep toys.

3.5259 During these early school years, the individual learns to meet an increasing number of his own needs. He begins to acquire status as an individual. He begins to learn that boys and girls are expected to act differently. The world of adults confronts him more and more and gradually he learns the skills and attitudes that will be necessary for his successful participation in American culture.

3.5261 Adolescence. As we know it, adolescence is the prolonged and ambiguous period of transition that separates childhood and adulthood. In Western cultures where the term "adolescence" originated, it is by definition a "problem period." Although a number of cultural settings can manifest such a stage, it is particularly characteristic of cultures which are highly complex.

3.5262 In American culture, adolescence includes a period from about twelve until the end of the teens, but sometimes extends on into the twenties. The adolescent is neither a child nor an adult. His body has grown to maturity. He has adult desires and ambitions, but he is not yet allowed to be an adult. This is especially true in the middle class where education is such a lengthy process. The adult world of parents, teachers, and future employers will not yet permit him the status of adult, with a life of his own, economic independence or marriage.

3.5263 The adolescent is asked to be an obedient "child" on the one hand, and told to "grow up" on the other. Parents and other adults are very selective about what they will allow him to be grown up about. Long frustrated in his quest to understand the adult world, the adolescent frequently rebels and turns to those superficial outward symbols of adulthood which can be attained whether approved of or not--a car, money, sexual freedom, smoking.

3.5264 Becoming an adult in America is a vague and confusing process with no clear-cut rules of behavior. Somehow, when the individual has learned and internalized enough of his culture to fill its definitions of "adult," then he is an adult. Most of these things are learned by the individual through close association with his peers. First, the adeolescent must accept his newly matured male or female physique. The adolescent is typically very self-conscious about his appearance. He desires the esteem of others and values their acceptance of him. He does everything in his power to improve his looks in his own eyes and in those of his friends. However, these ideas may not always conform to adult standards.

3.5265 The adolescent also must learn the appropriate masculine or feminine ways of behaving. Even in rapidly changing

American culture, masculine roles are fairly stable. Just as his father did, the boy of today is supposed to prepare himself for a vocation. At the same time, he "dates" girls, an American custom which prepares him eventually to choose one girl for his marriage partner. This behavior is considered properly masculine. The cultural definitions of feminine behavior, however, are in the process of change. Consequently, there are many contradictions for the female today. In the past, the female ideally was "not dominant or aggressive," she was supposed to be "more emotional and sympathetic than men." The female, as formerly viewed, was not supposed to be interested in a career outside the home, but in a family and in domestic things. The modern American female, however, is expected to have many of the same virtues, values, attitudes, and behavior patterns as males. She, too, is expected to prepare herself for a career. She need not tie herself down to a family and home--at least, not immediately. Adults may stress a girl's education and future career at one time, and the advantages of a husband and home at another. The girl frequently is confused about which path to take, particularly since it generally is felt that marriage and career are incompatible.

3.5266 The adolescent must learn new ways to behaving with age mates of both sexes. The individual begins to select his own friends, breaking away from parental authority. He joins a "crowd," a clique of persons with similar interests, to which he conforms in many ways and to which he is quite loyal. Popularity within this chosen group is very important to an adolescent, both among individuals of the same and those of the opposite sex.

3.5267 These associations include the custom of "dating" which takes a variety of forms. In early adolescence it may consist of attending community or school sponsored socials. The young boys and girls meeting at the function rather than the boy calling to pick up his "date." "Going steady" is when one boy and one girl date each other exclusively. In some colleges "going steady" may be termed "being lavaliered," the girl wearing the lavalier or necklace of her boyfriend's fraternity. A slightly more serious arrangement in college is called "being pinned," the girl wearing her sweetheart's fraternity pin. This relationship supposedly signifies that one is "engaged to be engaged." When "engaged," a girl wears the ring of her "fiance" whom she intends to marry. The engagement period varies in length anywhere from minutes to years. All or any of these steps may lead to the final step of marriage.

3.5268 Despite all this opportunity and even at times parental pressure, to associate with members of the opposite sex, the middle class adolescent is expected to limit his behavior to certain socially accepted practices. Sexual experimentation is disparage, and marriage must be postponed until the individual is older or has attained some degree of economic independence and emotional maturity.

3.5269 The adolescent also must break his emotional dependence on his parents and other adults. In the middle class this is perhaps more difficult than in other classes because parents are highly protective. The long period of education, usually in schools near home, further delays emotional independence. Sometimes rebellion on the part of the adolescent is the only way to gain autonomy and self-sufficiency. Among all classes, however, an ever increasing emotional gap between the generations encourages independence.

3.5270 Through a variety of experiences, the most important of which usually is formal necessary for the economic independence characteristic of adulthood. He must select a particular occupation and prepare for it. This choice is relatively free and open in the United States. Changes of occupation are frequent in American culture and the process of selecting the right one is typically a matter of trial and error. However, for many Americans this choice is taken seriously, for it is more than just a means of making a living. It is the way to prestige, status, and position. The actual decision usually is postponed by the middle class person until college or after.

3.5271 As a part of becoming an adult, the adolescent must learn the intellectual skills and concepts necessary for competent participation in the adult world. The democratic ideal requires an intelligent and educated citizenry, for it is the people in the long run who make the laws. Some of these skills and concepts are learned formally in schools. Others, such as the art of evaluating people correctly, and the meaning of leadership, are learned largely through association with peers.

3.5272 The loyalty of the adolescent is first to his peer group rather than his community, state, or country. It is to his friends that his responsibility and conformity are directed. Yet, somehow the adolescent must develop a sense of responsible behavior which is relevant for adult life as a community member. Through such activities as school programs, club projects, and church functions, the adolescent is drawn out from his clique and is guided into situations where he can learn to get along with many kinds of people.

3.5273 Finally, in becoming an adult the adolescent must shape his value system to adult standards. This value system is consistent with a scientific world-view, for Americans place a high value upon science and scientific findings.

3.5274 Many cultures have "rites of passage"--ceremonies designed to separate individuals from a previous stage of life and incorporate them into a new stage. For the United States as a whole there is very little ritual of this kind. Girls of the upper class, have a "debut". This so-called "coming out" party announces that she is eligible for marriage" and formally presents her to the rest of upper class society.

3.5275 The Jewish people in American culture have a ritual intended to convey adult status within their religious community. Among all Orthodox and some Conservative and Reform Jews, the "Bar Mitzvah" is celebrated. The words in Hebrew mean "son of the commandment". At the age of thirteen the Jewish boy is considered an adult and is from that age responsible for observing all those commandments (Mitzivot) incumbent upon Jewish adults. This ceremony of induction into adulthood takes place in the synagogue on the Sabbath nearest the thirteenth birthday. The boy must recite the benedictions, portions of the Law, and sometimes those portions of the Prophets designated for that day or week. Thereafter, he is expected to participate fully in the life of the Jewish religious community. The years before this birthday are spent in training and in learning about the Jewish faith and history.

3.5276 Among Conservative Jews a parallel initiation ceremony for girls, the "Bat Mitzvah" (daughter of the commandment), also has been introduced because of recognition of the near equal status of women in American culture. Many Conservative and Reform synagogues have replaced both of these rites with a "confirmation" ritual for boys and girls--a ceremony similar to that of Christian groups--indicating that one has absorbed at least a certain minimum of moral and ethical education. Even among Jews, however, these ceremonies are largely symbolic. The boys and girls still lack adult status in the larger American culture until they meet the larger definitions of the adult world.

3.5277 Ritual or no ritual, most young people eventually are considered adults even in the eyes of their parents. They finally absorb enough cultural information to function in the adult world. They finally are given adult status, power, rights, and obligations. They become fully participating members of American culture.

3.5281 Adulthood. The period of adulthood in American culture is not static. It includes a series of interrelated changes involving such things as economic conditions, family relations, places of residence, work situations and personal responsibilities. However, since our knowledge of the interrelationship of these factors throughout the period of adulthood is poorly understood, each factor is presented more or less independently.

3.5282 Family life customarily is the context from which adult participation is carried out. The individual marries and establishes his own family apart from parents and relatives.

"Family life" begins with marriage, and for a short period the couple usually lives by themselves. Then comes the period of child-bearing, which is rather short in America. Next is the long period of child-rearing, followed by a short period during which the children are leaving home. Finally, comes an extended time during which the couple again lives alone, their children gone. For families with more than two children (the national average), some of these periods are more extended. In low income groups, couples often live with other relatives before children arrive. Sometimes, because of the marriage instability associated with poverty, a line of female relatives--grandmother, mother, married daughter, and children--live under one roof with no adult males present.

3.5283 Marriage is a major life goal for most American men as well as for most American women. In 1960 only a fourth of the total males in the United States and only a fifth of the total females had never been married. The elaboration of relationships established in "dating" leads to marriage. This approach to marriage is something of a novelty if viewed in historical context, the notion that romantic love and marriage necessarily go together is another conspicuous middleclass American phenomenon. In America, the individual seeks his own mate within fairly broad limits, and the choice is based largely upon romantic considerations. The only real limits on the marriage choice are legal requirements of age, and freedom from veneral disease and various other biological or mental abnormalities. Incest laws bar marriage with certain relatives. Some states formerly had laws barring mixed racial marriages. Various personal attitudes tend to limit marriage to one's own racial, religious or social group. Americans are inclined to believe that marriages between people who are "different" in these respects have little chance for permanence. The opinions of parents and peers about who is or who is not "proper" also tend to narrow one's choice of a mate. In recent years, college campuses where people of widely differing backgrounds often meet have been an important factor in encouraging mixed marriages of various kinds. Most people in the United States marry for "love". But they also marry for a variety of other reasons such as premarital pregnancy, sexual satisfaction, economic security, social expectations, family pressures and prestige considerations.

3.5284 The marriage ceremony itself is a "rite of passage". After this ceremony the boy and girl are recognized by the culture as a married couple. Marriage usually means full recognition of adult status if this has not been attained already. The ceremony can be a quick legal affair performed by a justice of the peace in the presence of witnesses. Frequently it is also a religious observance held in a church filled with friends and relatives.

3.5285 This religious ceremony may have elaborate preparations. The bride may spend weeks attending parties in her behalf. There may be "kitchen showers", "lingerie showers", luncheons and teas. Gifts from well-wishers may pour in for weeks prior to the occasion. The bride's parents may spend large sums of money for a wedding dress, for flowers and food, and for a party afterwards. Sometimes on the day before the wedding, a bridemaid's luncheon is held for the bride and her attendants. The groom may also attend bachelor parties given for him by friends. He and his parents also may contribute money to the occasion with a dinner held the night before the wedding after the rehersal for the "Big Show".

3.5286 Weddings are surrounded by many customs and casual superstitions. It is bad luck for the bride to play her own part in the wedding rehersal. A friend usually takes her place during the rehersal. The bride is not supposed to see her betrothed on the day of the wedding until she walks down the aisle of the church. For luck she customarily wears "something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue." Showers of rice are thrown at the newlyweds after the ceremony to insure a life of prosperity and happiness. Old shoes and cans are tied to the newly weds "getaway car", and various friends mischievously try to follow the couple as they leave the scene of festivities to be by themselves. This is considered good fun and is not taken seriously by anyone. They are allowed to "escape" with no real harm done.

3.5287 After the marriage, comes the "honeymoon". The couple quite often go on a wedding trip for a short period where they can be alone and begin to adjust to the idea of being married. During the honeymoon they are allowed complete privacy by the culture, postponing the assumption of their responsibilities in the community for a while. After the honeymoon, they begin their new life as married adults, forming the nucleus of a new nuclear family.

3.5288 The newly married couple usually must face problems of adjustment, particularly in the sexual relationship. Impotency and frigidity are problems sometimes. If the couple is fortunate, the major adjustment they must work out are the questions of "how", "when", and "how often". If one partner prefers to avoid sex at certain times, as during the menstrual period, an understanding is called for. Sometimes sex may not be feasible, as during the later stages of pregnancy when a doctor may advise against it. Again mutual understanding is called for. Generally speaking, Americans no longer hold that sex is for reproduction only. Mutual satisfaction, with or without children, is considered to be reason enough.

3.5289 An increasing number of American couples are practicing birth control. They are using a variety of methods to prevent and space births. These methods, varying in effectiveness, in safety, and in scientific worth, include not only the pill, but intrauterine devices, the rhythm method and many others. Much literature is available on the effectiveness and safety of the various methods. Frequently, a young couple may spend time before and after their marriage discussing them with doctors or counselors. Sometimes, as in the case of abortions, birth is prevented after conception occurs. At the present time even medical abortions are illegal in most of the United States unless the physical well-being of the mother is seriously endangered.

3.5290 Medical science also has methods of encouraging pregnancies in cases where conception has been difficult or impossible. The pill can be put to this use. Various other fertility drugs are available.

3.5291 Adjustment in marriage involves much more than sex, however. Living with another person from day to day creates many areas for adjustment. A successful marriage in the United States is defined in terms of personal happiness for husband and wife, with mutual "give and take" based on personal affection and choice. In former years, when families were large and marriage was based on economic and other considerations, permanence in the marriage relationship was not too difficult to attain. Since at present the major consideration is satisfaction and happiness, couples are finding permenant adjustment more and more difficult. Marriages are breaking up through separation, divorce and desertion with far more regularity than in the past.

3.5292 Divorces have become especially common in American culture. The period at the end of World War II saw the highest divorce rate, but the general trend has been steadily upward. This does not necessarily mean that marriages are less happy than before. Other factors enter the picture. Divorce has become more respectable. The laws have broadened, and the courts are more lenient in interpreting the laws and in granting divorce decrease. At present it is predicted that three out of five new marriages will end in divorce. Although divorce may be sought any time during a marriage, most occur during the first two or three years. Thus, divorces separate childless couples more often than those with children. Less than half of all divorce decrees involve children. Ninety-eight percent of those divorced before the age of thirty remarry. Most divorced persons remarry within two or three years after divorce. The remarriage rate of divorced mothers is not significantly lower than that of other female divorcees. Adjustment to divorce may be difficult, especially when there are children.

3.5293 Parenthood is a significant part of adult life. Presently only about one woman in ten of child-bearing age goes through married life without having a child. The first child usually comes within two years after marriage. Usually, the first major problems parents face are caused by these. The next big crisis is sending a child to school after many years of a rather exclusive relationship. During the early school years, parenthood seems largely to involve "chauffering", and attending P.T.A. meetings and recitals.

3.5294 Most young people attempt to set up their own household after marriage. The first home is typically a small rented house or apartment. Here they may begin collecting their furnishings. The birth of the first child frequently initiates a move to a place with more room. By the time the husband is settled in his first serious full-time job, the couple usually is ready to buy or build a home of their own. Throughout the years of active parenthood, job changes may precipitate changes in residence which often involves selling the old house and buying a new one. Years later, when the children have grown up, leaving the couple alone once again, they often move back to a smaller, more economical place which may again be rented.

3.5295 In the American family there is a division of labor between husband and wife, the male's part being considered superior and most important. The husband is the "breadwinner", the head of the family and its major representative in the larger community. The social standing of the family is dependent largely on the nature of his work and his income. Men tend to have jobs requiring heavy output of labor during a short period of time. These kinds of jobs comprise a family's main economic support. Women tend to have duties that require a smaller but more sustained output of energy for each unit of time--duties which can be done at or near home. Traditionally, wives have been assigned the necessary domestic duties that surround motherhood and homemaking. Even in modern America there is still a strong feeling that "a woman's place is in the home". This is rapidly changing, however. Fewer children per home and the advanced technology of American culture have diminished the absolute necessity for a woman to be at home full-time. Many women in the United States now work outside the home at some time in their lives. In 1960, 34% of all American females over age 13 were in the labor force, and 60% of these were married. At present, the peak of female participation in the labor force occurs just before marriage when about half are working. About a third of all married women are now working, but only a fifth of those with pre-school children work outside the home. When all the children are in school, women are usually still in their thirties. They are very likely to return to work at this time.

3.5296 The American family tends to go through an economic cycle which varies with the occupation of the head of the household. Generally speaking, men reach their maximum income level and economic position rather quickly. This situation may remain stable for years, but by middle age it starts to decline. For men in the professions, however, the cycle differs, with the highest point typically coming later in life just before retirement.

3.5297 Along with economic and social stature that comes with the choice of occupation, the married couple sets for itself and tries to maintain whatever economic standard of living they deem suitable. Adulthood is the time of major participation in the consumer world, though much of a family's money actually may go for their children's enjoyment. Houses are bought. Cars are bought, sometimes one every year. Quite often a family may have two and three cars. Food and clothing for the whole family must be bought. Many articles, once thought of as luxuries but now considered necessities by many, are bought to keep the family happy--television sets, swimming pools, expensive toys, and electrical appliances and tools are just a few. Many things such as clothing, cars and even houses, frequently are purchased solely for their worth as stylish prestige items rather than for their practicality or utility. The extent of such "conspicuous consumption" depends largely on the income and occupation of the household head.

3.5298 The activities that fill leisure time also vary with the family's position. The average work week in American culture is now some 25 hours shorter than it was a century ago. Some recent statistics indicate that the work week is increasing, but this reflects the practice of working "overtime" to earn extra wages. Employers encourage this because it is cheaper than hiring new workers who add the cost of additional bookkeeping, fringe benefits, and training. The time spent working depends on the kind of job one has.

3.5299 In most non-professional and non-agricultural jobs the amount of leisure time is large, with only about thirty-five to sixty hours a week spent working. Leisure time is at a record high. Old leisure-time behavior patterns are changing rapidly in modern America. People are constantly thinking up new ways to spend their spare time. Some of this time is spent in social gatherings of all kinds--cocktail parties, card parties, cook-outs, and many other get-togethers. There are also voluntary associations and clubs to which one may belong. Some of these deal with community problems, some with personal improvement and others involve games or hobbies. Increasingly, people take up spare time with hobbies such as gardening or woodworking. Sometimes people even take on second jobs. The increasing desire to find groups of congenial associates who share the same interests is an important aspect of the new trends toward more and more leisure time.

3.5300 During adulthood, status and presitige are accumulated through a combination of economic advantage, education, skill and leadership. To retain a position of power, however, an adult must do something with his wealth. To use one's economic surplus to benefit the community is highly approved of in American culture. The idea of community service is strong. During these adult years maximum demands are placed on the individual for community service and responsibility. Members of the middle-class participate enthusiastically in these responsibilities with various community projects, political activities, and church work.

3.5301 However, the aging process goes on and gradually becomes more and more noticeable. Finally, the individual enters the last stage of his life. Cultural participation begins to decline, sometimes drastically. Now he is viewed in a new way. Old Age brings many changes, and in American culture they are not usually pleasant.

3.5302 In American culture, old age generally is looked upon as a period of decline characterized by many kinds of change. Biological changes include a slowing down in performance of organs, a decline in energy, and a variety of outward alterations in appearance and body structure. Physiological changes lead to personality changes, new adjustment problems, and a decreasing ability to organize and use information. Although there is considerable variation in the actual time when these physical changes take place in different individuals. American culture maintains that old age begins around 65. This culturally forced change in attitudes and activity sometimes seems to precipitate physical and mental decline prematurely.

3.5303 In the United States the elderly population doubled in proportion and increased fourfold in actual number during the first half of this century. The general upward trend is due to the natural increase of the population to the decline in death rates, and to the growing capacity of the economy to sustain a larger population.

3.5304 Modern technology has had much to do with the present condition of older people. Medical advances and developments in nutrition have led to an increasing life expectancy. For American males, the average life expectancy has increased from about 47 years in 1900 to about 70 in 1959. For females it has risen from 48 to about 73 in the same time span.

3.5305 Great technological developments also have altered, both directly and indirectly, the old person's position in the culture, his activities, his family relations, his housing needs, and his sources of financial support. The work day is shorter. Many traditional household activities are now carried out by the community. In addition, early compulsory retirement, with virtual freedom from parental and work responsibilities for even the middle-aged has created a situation where older people find they rarely have meaningful ways to spend their time. The transition from self-employed to employee, the changes in family systems, the rise of individualism, the spread of higher education, and the spread of change itself--all these factors have resulted in upsetting the traditional treatment of the aged in our culture. These conditions have created a new problem area of national concern.

3.5306 Now men and women in the United States are faced with longer life, earlier completion of parenthood, and early retirement from the labor force. At the same time we retain traditional values of individual responsibility and personal productivity. The aged citizen of the United States thus is cursed by leisure time in abundance. Yet, the culture offers him no vital function to perform. He eventually loses nearly all of his former prestige, power and status. The most difficult task his culture offers him is simply to adjust quietly to a non-productive life and to live gracefully on a meager pension supplied by Social Security.

3.5307 This general decline in the position of an aged person is often gradual at first. The elderly person is usually forced to abdicate his position in the hierarchy of management. He participates less and less in various voluntary organizations as his energy and health decline. Older people tend to lose interest in politics and many do not bother to vote. The main concern of the aged person is to safeguard the few privileges, rights and possessions that he has left. These way take the form of property rights, seniority rights in a job if he has not been forced to retire, and the right to make the personal decisions that affect his own life. Up to a point, old people still may be called upon for help and advice because of their long life and accumulated experience. After a while, this too is lost.

3.5308 Economic position is threatened first by forced retirement, usually at the age of 65. This customarily brings decreased income and a dependence on insurance, Social Security, family, and friends. Quite often retirement and decreased income are accompanied by a move to a smaller, less expensive place to live. This may be a smaller house, an apartment, or sometimes the home of married children. A new custom which is gaining popularity is the retirement village. "Old folk's homes" are multiplying rapidly also. When disabling physical conditions set in, often a nursing home is the last resort. The need for special living arrangements for the aged is a great problem in the United States today that concerns many interested people.

3.5309 Although there are fewer children to look after parents in their old age, this also may mean that parents can accumulate more capital and be less dependent on children in old age. Elderly parents generally do not live with their married children, but they may choose to live near them. One reason the aged prefer independent households is the great communication gap between the generations due to rapid culture change and great strides in formal education. This communication barrier is even greater between grandparents and grandchildren, although grandparents often assume some "babysitting" functions when living nearby. Increased individualism and the prominence of non-kin relationships in the culture have increased the social distance between kin. However, there is still more contact between relatives today than is commonly supposed even in the city.

3.5310 Crippling illnesses may isolate the aged from their friends; eventually friends may begin to die, further decreasing the social contacts of the aged. The ultimate loss is generally the death of one's spouse.

3.5311 The account of aging is an account of retirement and reduced income are felt acutely. Many personal contacts are broken through retirement and death. Children have long since moved away, and death has claimed spouse and many friends. For most old people, these losses clearly exceed the gains. For other old people, however, complete freedom from parental, economic, and other responsibilities gives the individual greater opportunity for choice than he has ever known before. For some, good health and faculties are maintained up to the time of death, and they are able to channel their attention to developing new interests, friendships, and activities which appeal to them.

3.5312 The marked loss of energy, awareness, sensory perception, and the onset of long-term chronic health conditions reaches most individuals between the ages of 60 and 70. The basic concern of the aged now is to live as long as possible, and to withdraw from life as honorably and as comfortable as possible when the time comes.

3.5313 When such decline and debilitating diseases have created extreme frailty, and a general reduction in acuteness mental the aged individual frequently turns to contemplation and retrospection. As he ponders the meaning of his life, there is a growing awareness that the end of life is near and death is approaching.

3.5314 In most cultures, death is a crisis that stops the orderly processes of daily life and necessitates the mending of broken personal attachments. Ideally, the Judeo-Christian tradition sees death as a time of rejoicing, for the individual has entered a new life and joined his God. More realistically, death is generally a time of sadness and shock. There is a sense of overwhelming loss and confusion for the survivors. The bereaved draw on the religious beliefs and customs of the culture concerning what to do, say, and feel at this time. They must also follow certain legal regulations concerning the treatment of the dead.

3.5315 The responsibility for immediate action on the final disposition of the dead is placed in the hands of the modern funeral director. The body is taken to a funeral home. The post mortem preparations of the body are undertaken by a licensed embalmer who has been trained in a school of mortuary science. The body, according to law in most places, is preserved, made sanitary, and often restored. It is dressed in fine clothes, put in a carved wooden or metal casket, and placed in state for friends and relatives to view and pay their last respects.

3.5316 Uninhibited expression of grief, great floral display, and open mourning generally are frowned upon in the middle and upper classes. Within the lower class and certain minority groups there is a feeling that the amount of money spent on a funeral is the direct measure of the respect and affection felt for the deceased. Even in the middle class, funerals are generally more expensive than the survivors can afford. It is felt that the dead should have the very best for his last resting place even if the living have to suffer for it. Quite often, however, flowers are omitted, and friends and relatives are asked to make contributions to charity or certain funds instead.

3.5317 A death in an urban culture touches only a limited number of persons. Except when the person is notorious, famous, or extremely involved with his community, a death is made public only through obituary columns in the local newspapers. The typical funeral actually lasts about three days, from the removal of the body from the place of death to its journey to the grave. The funeral ceremony itself is sometimes held in a church, sometimes in a funeral home, and sometimes only at graveside. Close friends of the dead person usually are asked to be pall-bearers and to accompany, and perhaps carry the casket to the service and to the grave. The family dresses in somber clothes and during the service sits in front of all the friends. If the service is held in a church or funeral home, a procession of people generally follows the casket to the graveside where another short service is held and the final words are said. The casket most often is not lowered into the grave until the family have been removed from the scene. The casket usually is buried in a locked, waterproof vault, frequently in a perpetual care cemetery.

3.5318 During the period of mourning, friends and relatives come and go bringing food and flowers to the home of the deceased. Much care is taken to see that the bereaved survivors are not left alone in their grief.

3.5319 Life after death in an afterworld of heaven or hell is the belief of many persons in American culture. Most Americans seek to withdraw from life with maximum prospects for an attractive hereafter. Whatever happens after death, it is certain that death brings an end to corporeal existence and an end to the life cycle. Eventually, the shock of death is passed, things return to normal, and life in American culture proceeds at its usual fast pace despite the temporary disruption. A new infant is born somewhere in America every few seconds; and the life-cycle begins anew and repeats itself over and over, following the same broad theme so characteristic of life in American culture.

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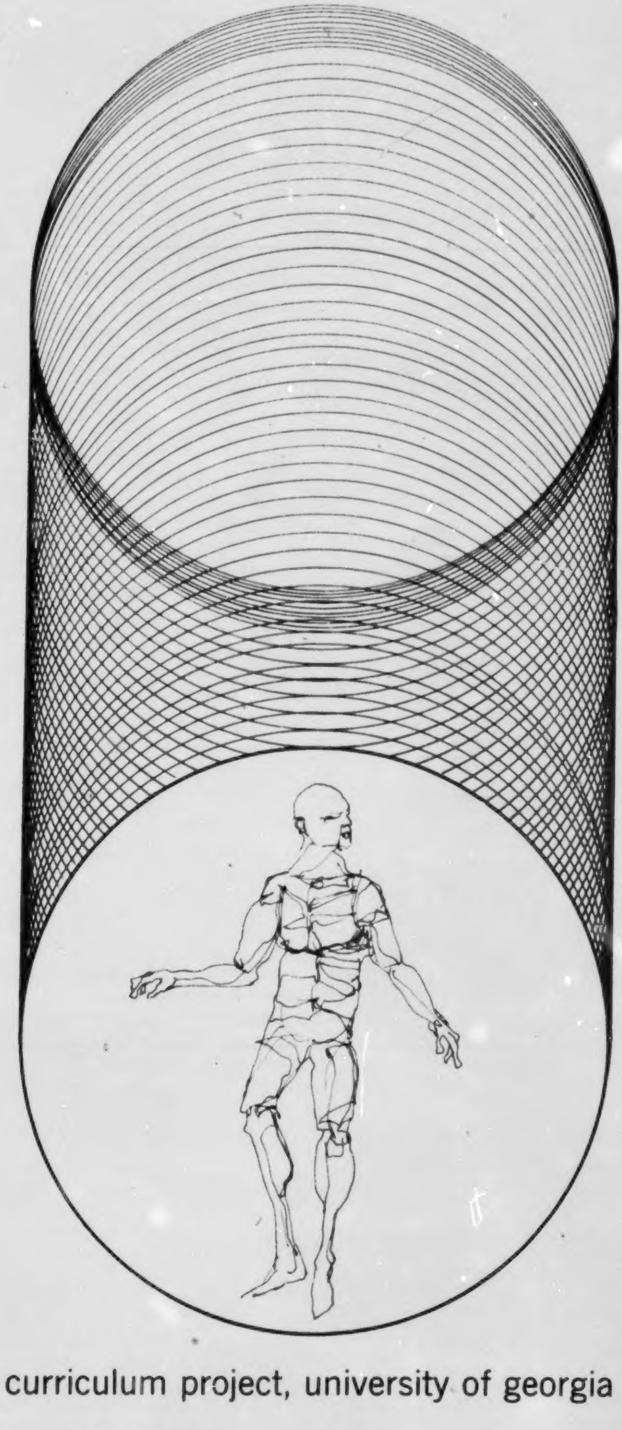
LIFE CYCLE



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Other Material In This Unit

Life Cycle, Teacher Background Material, by Pauline G. Persing and Wilfrid C. Bailey Publication 49a, Anthropology Curriculum Project, University of Georgia.

Life Cycle, Student Test, Publication 49b, Anthropology Curriculum Project, University of Georgia.

The Sequential Anthropology Curriculum

Concept of Culture: An Introductory Unit, Kindergarten
Concept of Culture: Three Ethnographies, Grade 1
Development of Man and His Culture: New World Prehistory, Grade 2
Cultural Change: Urbanization, Detribalization, and Planned Change, Grade 3
Concept of Culture: Comparative Cultures, Grade 4
Development of Man and His Culture: Old World Prehistory, Grade 5
Cultural Change: Modernization and Industrialization, Grade 6
Life Cycle, Junior High

Additional Units

Language, Upper Elementary and Junior High
Urban Community, Junior High
Political Anthropology, Junior High

LIFE CYCLE

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GETTING READY TO STUDY

You are among students in several classes which this year will study *anthropology* for the first time. You are part of an experimental study to see how well a subject which was once taught only to college students can be learned by students in grade school. If you are in a school where units of the Anthropology Curriculum Project (Georgia) have been previously taught, you will be able to add new insights into your understanding of how man lives in different cultures.

The Life Cycle is the fourth in a series of new units being developed by the Anthropology Curriculum Project (Georgia). If you are studying anthropology for the first time, *The Life Cycle* provides an introduction to the cultures of four different groups—Tiv, Balkan Peasant, Chinese, and American. *The Life Cycle* emphasizes these aspects of life as humans come into their culture through birth and pass from their culture through old age.

If you have previously studied units in the Georgia anthropology series, you will see how the unit on *The Life Cycle* ties together many ideas you have studied in previous units.

Some of the major ideas of anthropology emphasized in the unit on the life cycle include: (1) life as a biological continuum that begins at birth and ends with death; (2) variations in the life cycle growing out of different cultural patterns of adjusting to the biological life cycle; (3) universals in the life cycle growing out of the limits imposed by adjusting to the universals of the biological life cycle: (4) childhood as a period of slow biological development which facilitates enculturation or the learning of basic culture traits; (5) achieving self-identity and personal responsibility during adolescence or the transition from childhood to adulthood; (6) work and family obligations as a continuing responsibility of adulthood; (7) decline in physical ability and shift in social position with advancing years or old age; and (8) how changes in the patterning of the total culture bring about changes in the life cycle.

Anthropology is an exciting study. In this unit in particular, you can examine what is happening to you as a individual in American culture and compare what happens in your life to boys and girls of similar ages in other culture. In this way of studying about ourselves and other people, we see ourselves in another dimension. For this reason, anthropology has been called a "Mirror for Man."

We hope that you enjoy being part of this experimental study and that in the cultures you study in this unit you will find a mirror in which to see yourself more clearly.

M. J. Rice
Wilfrid C. Bailey
Co-Directors

INTRODUCTION

OBJECTIVES

The general objectives of the unit are as follows:

1. To expose the student to some of the many different ways in which people live out their lives.
2. To help the student learn some of the reasons why people act differently.
3. To provide a background for individuals with different experiences and upbringing, so that they can relate to each other in a more meaningful manner.
4. To guide the student to a better understanding of himself and the increasing demands placed upon him during the critical transition to adulthood.

The instructional objectives of the unit are as follows:

1. To trace briefly the biological development of the continuum of human life.
2. To list the variety of factors that influence the continuum of human life.
3. To identify the similar and different ways in which man in various cultures views and treats requirements posed by the continuum of human life.
4. To allow the student to be a participant observer of the life cycle of his own culture, and to be an observer of the life cycles of other cultures.
5. To enable the student to understand the life cycle as being, in part, biologically determined.
6. To enable the student to see the life cycle as a cultural adaptation to the biological continuum.
7. To enable the student to make cross-cultural comparisons of the effect of cultural factors on the biological continuum.
8. To identify some of the characteristics of anthropology as the scientific study of man and his culture.
9. To identify and make use of methods employed by anthropologists in the study of the life cycle, and to identify some of the ways in which the life cycle is used by anthropologists in their interpretations of man and his culture.
10. To enable the student to demonstrate his knowledge of anthropological methods through an examination of selected cultures.

RATIONALE OF THE ANTHROPOLOGY CURRICULUM PROJECT

The construction of the curriculum in anthropology by the Anthropology Curriculum Project at the University of Georgia, under a grant from the U. S. Office of Education, is based upon several premises, among which are the following:

1. Any field of knowledge, such as anthropology, consists of a system of symbols, or word labels, which are used to express ideas and describe relationships. An understanding or mastery of any field of knowledge begins with an understanding of the symbol system, the meaning of which expands and develops as the knowledge of the discipline is extended.
2. Symbol systems are usually organized for transmission of a core of congruent ideas, usually referred to as subject matter, discipline, or field. For almost thirty years the social studies movement has contended that a subject approach to the transmission of social studies is inappropriate for the elementary grades. It is thought that any type of organization of material, irrespective of its method, is designed to transmit knowledge, and that there is nothing incompatible, except preference and tradition, with a subject presentation of a social science in the elementary grades.
3. Anthropological material is frequently used

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in the public school, but in the absence of emphasis on anthropological concepts and terminology, the contribution that anthropology has to make to an understanding of man and of different cultures is frequently obscure. The material in this unit deliberately introduces anthropological terminology which may at first be somewhat difficult for the student. As his familiarity with these terms increases, however, it is expected that these terms will help him organize and interpret in a more meaningful manner the world in which he lives.

VOCABULARY

Anthropology, like any field of study, uses many terms. Some of these terms are new words that have been introduced into our language by the anthropologist. Others have been taken from the languages of the people studied by anthropologists, and have been re-defined. For example, "culture" is used to designate the sum total of things that man learns in common with the other members of the group to which he belongs. It is *not* used in the older more popular manner to designate refinement.

Although no definite time schedule is recommended, the following is an example of a schedule which might be useful as a *general* guide only.

In order to avoid wordiness, the authors have presented students with a more sophisticated vocabulary than is usually found in seventh year texts. New or difficult words as well as words in emphasis appear in italic (*e.g., diversity*). Where possible such words are used repeatedly about three times in brief periods. This method should help the student increase his vocabulary more easily. Students should be encouraged to use a dictionary when necessary.

The text has a feature unusual for seventh year social science texts. The students will be introduced to the use of appendixes. This will not only enhance their social science studies, but will increase their language arts skills.

Finally, presentation takes into account the psychology of junior high students. The presentation attempts to keep the students interested by using a variety of literary tactics.

EVALUATION

The teacher may wish to give a pre-test before beginning the unit. It is designed to provide a base line from which student learning can be evaluated. However, it is *not* an achievement test. For this reason, the teacher should make it clear to students that the pre-test will not be part of their grades, and they are likely to find many of the questions difficult or impossible to answer. These points should be stressed to keep the class from becoming discouraged before the unit even begins.

A post-test has been prepared to evaluate the students' achievement of the objectives presented. It can be used to measure comprehension of the completed unit.

The teacher may also wish to use other forms of evaluation as a part of the daily presentation of materials. Problem-solving tests are especially appropriate. A mid-unit test, prepared by the teacher, might help evaluate pupil progress.

PROCEDURE FOR TEACHING THE UNIT

There is *no* set procedure for teaching the unit. Researchers have analyzed various approaches and, after thoroughly studying the alternatives, have written the text in its present form. *Nevertheless, the teacher may alter the sequence to fit the individual needs of the student.*

There is also no definite time schedule for teaching the unit. However, it is anticipated the unit will run *about* 30 class periods. This would include five or six weekends for research. As a general rule, time allotted for this unit should not exceed five weeks. Students begin to

LIFE CYCLE

Learning phases (in air travel terminology)	Days	Number of days	Material to cover	Comments
Check in	1st	1	Pre-test	Period of much discussion
	2nd - 3rd	2	Introduction	
Warm-up	4th - 5th	2	Studying the Life Cycle	
Take-off	6th - 10th	5	Briefing Session	Period of intense rudimentary research, discussion and definition of possible problems
In flight	11th - 15th	5	Life Begins	
	16th - 20th	5	Childhood	
Refueling stop	21st	1	Recapitulation	
In flight	22nd - 30th	9	Adulthood and Old Age	
Landing	31st - 33rd	4	Summary, review, evaluation and conclusion	
Check out	34th	1	Post-test	
	35th	1	Critique of post-test	Optional

lose interest after that period of time, unless a great deal of enthusiasm has been generated.

IMPORTANT REMINDERS

Overgeneralization and stereotyping *must* be avoided in good social science education. This point cannot be stressed too strongly. The following reminders will assist both students and teachers to remain wary of the dangers of stereotyping.

1. *An important reminder about the material on the Balkans:*

Life throughout the Balkans is not absolutely uniform. The opening vignette depicts a scene common to much of the Balkans, even though in some areas there is no village well or no true physical center to the village. Scenes specifically as depicted can, however, be found in Greece, parts of Yugoslavia other than Serbia, and in areas of the other Balkan states.

Likewise, life in other parts of the Balkans is not identical in every respect to life in Serbia. In some areas the countryside is rolling; in others almost flat; while in still others it is covered with high and rugged mountains. As the geography varies, so do some of the customs and practices of the people. Villages and regions throughout the Balkan area may be similar, but no two are ever identical.

2. *An important reminder about the material on China:*

Much of what has been said about the Balkans applies to China as well. Some people in northern Shenai Province live somewhat differently than people do in other parts of China. Just as it would be wrong to believe that all people in the Balkans were just like the Serbs, it would be equally wrong to think all Chinese lived exactly like those in our Chinese case study.

3. *An important reminder about the material on American culture:*

American culture is characterized by its diversity. The text gives a general description centering on that section of the population which is known as the middle class. The teacher should call attention to cultural patterns found in non-middle class communities, and should encourage students to explain how and why their own life style does or does not correspond to the one presented in the text. The teacher should also take pains to emphasize that one style is no better than another.

USE OF THE APPENDIXES

The Appendixes provide additional aids for a concentrated study of the life cycle. Appendix A offers Problem Solving Situations and Review Questions which can be used to assess the learning objectives at the completion of the unit or to provide topics for class discussion throughout the presentation of the unit. The Activities in Appendix B are designed to familiarize the student with the basic aspects of anthropological field work and research through their own observations of the American culture. Appendix C provides a comprehensive list of resource materials for teacher and student, enabling both to expand their knowledge of anthropology through further study of the life cycle and of these four cultures. Appendix D lists the vocabulary words italicized in each chapter to facilitate the student's learning of the new terms.

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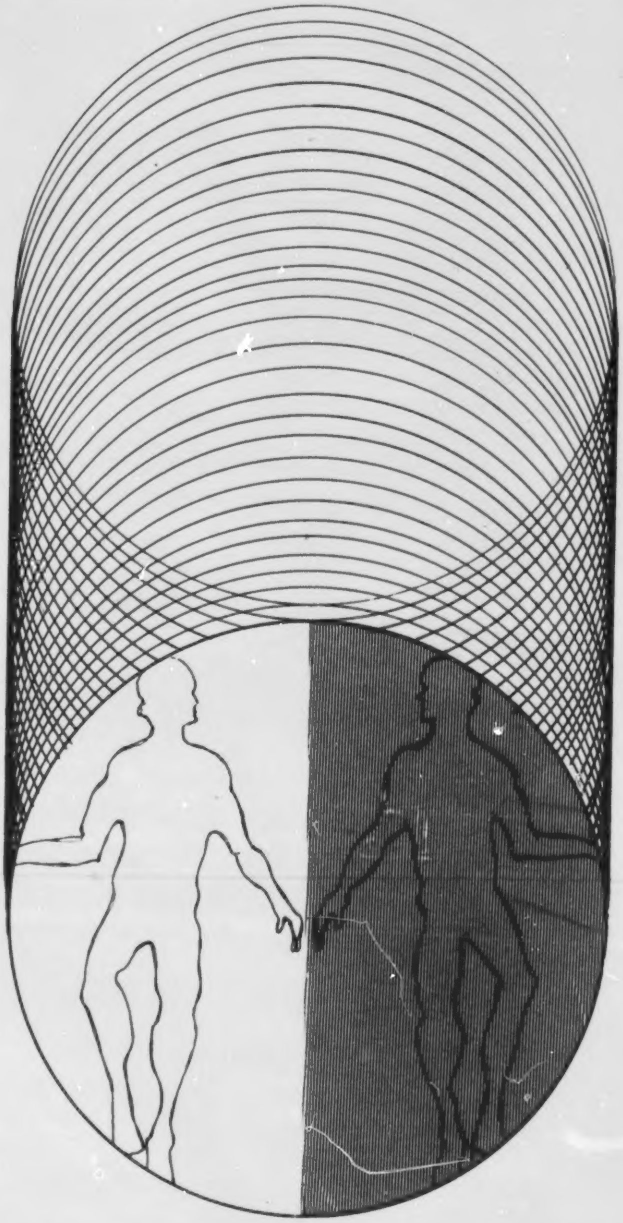
anthropology: the mirror of man



At any given moment, life is completely senseless. But viewed over a long period, it seems to reveal itself as an organism existing in time, having a purpose tending in a certain direction
Aldous Huxley

Anthropologists study man in relation to his *culture*. At this very moment an anthropologist may be studying your own community or he might be far away studying a culture in Asia or Africa. The anthropologist is not bound by time or place in his study of mankind. He studies man and his way of life near and far, past and present—everywhere and at any time.

If you were an anthropologist, where might you go to study people?

	Present	Past
Near	Intercity, U. S. A.	Osage Indian of Missouri
Far	Arunta	Ancient Athens

Some anthropologists are interested in the biology of man. These anthropologists are called *physical anthropologists*. They study man's biological *characteristics*. They learn about man's structure, growth and form. Physical anthropologists are also concerned with how man has changed through time.

Other anthropologists are interested in the different ways man lives. These anthropologists are the *cultural anthropologists*. Cultural anthropologists who are interested in how man lived long ago are called *archaeologists*. They learn about man's past by *excavating artifacts*. An artifact is any object made by man. An automobile, a pencil, and a baseball are all artifacts. Artifacts may be the remains of ancient houses or towns or even one tiny bead.

By studying artifacts, archaeologists learn about the way people lived long ago. Sometimes the archaeologists are lucky and find human bones. Then physical anthropologists and archaeologists may work together to *reconstruct* man's past.

Many cultural anthropologists study the ways of life of people alive today. They may study communities in foreign countries, or they may study a group of people who live in a nearby city.

An *ethnologist* is a cultural anthropologist whose studies focus on comparing different cultures. Usually, the ethnologist limits his study to less advanced cultures—that is, cultures less advanced in terms of *technology*, as compared to the culture found in the United States. The daily life of the Tiv or Watusi in Africa might interest the ethnologist more than a study of daily life in New York City or Paris. The ethnologist might study and compare cultures of people living today with cultures of people recently *extinct*.

The *social anthropologist* is more apt to focus his study on present day cultures which are highly developed. For example, he might study the role of the Negro community in Atlanta, Georgia. In Europe the ethnologist and the social anthropologist are often considered as one and the same. But, as we have seen, there *is* a difference in their interests.

Another kind of cultural anthropologist is the *linguist*. He studies and compares the relationships, development, and history of languages. Language is one of the most important elements in studying a culture. Often the terms used by a culture reflects its *values*—what the members of the culture believe is important. For example, one study revealed that American parents usually tell their children to "be good" (sound familiar?), while Prussian parents often used the expression "Keep in line!"

Do you notice a possible difference of values between the two groups? How would you describe this difference?

The archaeologist, ethnologist, social anthropologist and linguist are all considered cultural anthropologists. Sometimes this leads to confusion. For example, the ethnologist might be referred to simply as a cultural anthropologist. The following diagram might help to clarify this point.

THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS	
PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS	Studies the Biological Characteristics of Man
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS	**ARCHAEOLOGIST** **Studies the Past Artifacts of Man** **ETHNOLOGIST** **Studies and Compares Different Cultures of Man, Past and Present** **SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGIST** **Studies Present-day Cultures** **LINGUIST** **Studies the Languages of Man, Past and Present**

Name three kinds of anthropologists. How are they the same? How are they different?

If you were an anthropologist studying a culture, what questions would you seek to answer? Why?

Have you ever seen an artifact? Name some of the artifacts you have seen or heard about.

NOTE: Anything which is made by man is an artifact, but usually people tend to think of artifacts as being those things that were made by man long ago.

What value is there in studying various ways of life of people past and present?

THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

When an anthropologist talks about culture, he means all those things that make up a way of life. In some places people sit on the floor and eat with their hands. In other places people eat with chopsticks. The way people eat; the houses they live in; the way they make a living; the language they speak; the way they worship—all these things are part of their culture.

How do you think your culture has influenced you?

Culture is learned. Only through learning can culture be passed on from one *generation* to the next. Only human beings can teach their young about things that have happened in the past. Only man can instruct his children about possible events in the future.

Why is culture passed on from one generation to the next?

THE COMPARATIVE METHOD

Anthropologists are scientists. They hesitate to accept any statement about all mankind simply because it is true in their own culture. This is one of the reasons why anthropologists study people in as many places as possible.

People, living their lives in their natural surroundings, are the anthropologist's laboratory. The anthropologist goes to them. He studies their culture and records what he sees. In this *field* situation he tries to learn as much as he can. He compares what he *sees* with what he *knows* about other cultures from his own experience and the experience of others. Only then does he try to make generalizations or say what may be unique for a particular group.

Why does an anthropologist think it is important to study cultures other than his own?

THE HOLISTIC APPROACH

Anthropologists are interested in learning all about man. They want to develop a *total picture* of what man is and what he does. Sometimes anthropologists ask scientists in other fields to help them. Some of these scientists may be *biologists*, *geologists*, or *psychologists*. Historians and philosophers may help the anthropologists too.

How might a geologist assist you if you were an anthropologist?

John is studying life in Harlem in New York. Margaret is studying the life of the ancient Babylonians. In which situation would you expect to find a geologist and a psychologist to be most helpful? Why?

In order to develop this total picture of man, anthropologists would like to be able to study people wherever they live or have lived. As long as man or his way of life are involved, no place is too far away and no event occurred too long ago for the anthropologist to be interested in it.

Anthropologists realize that man's physical makeup is part of what makes him human. Anthropologists know that both man's biology and his behavior influence his culture. They know that culture influences his biology and his personality. Anthropologists know that they must study *all* of these things if they want to develop a *holistic* view (total picture) of man.

What kinds of things do you think would be important for an anthropologist to know if he wanted a holistic view of man?

Why should an anthropologist seek a holistic view of man?

The histories of individual cultures interest the anthropologist just as much as the history of all mankind. Anthropologists realize uncommon events are important in the study of man. Anthropologists even record the life histories of individuals in order to understand how different people learn the ways of their culture. Also, anthropologists learn how new ideas or things become important to a person's daily life. But anthropologists are not just interested in uncommon events. *They are scientists trying to learn what is common to all men everywhere.*

How do you think unique events can be important to the history of man or in the development of a single culture?

In summary, one can say that all of the following help to make up the holistic view:

(1) The study of man through time and space;
(2) The study of biological, psychological and cultural man;
(3) The study of what is unique and what is common.

Yet, most important is the fact that anthropologists know it is impossible to understand man without understanding how these three studies *interact* and *influence* one another. During your study of the life cycle you will be able to examine such interactions and influences.

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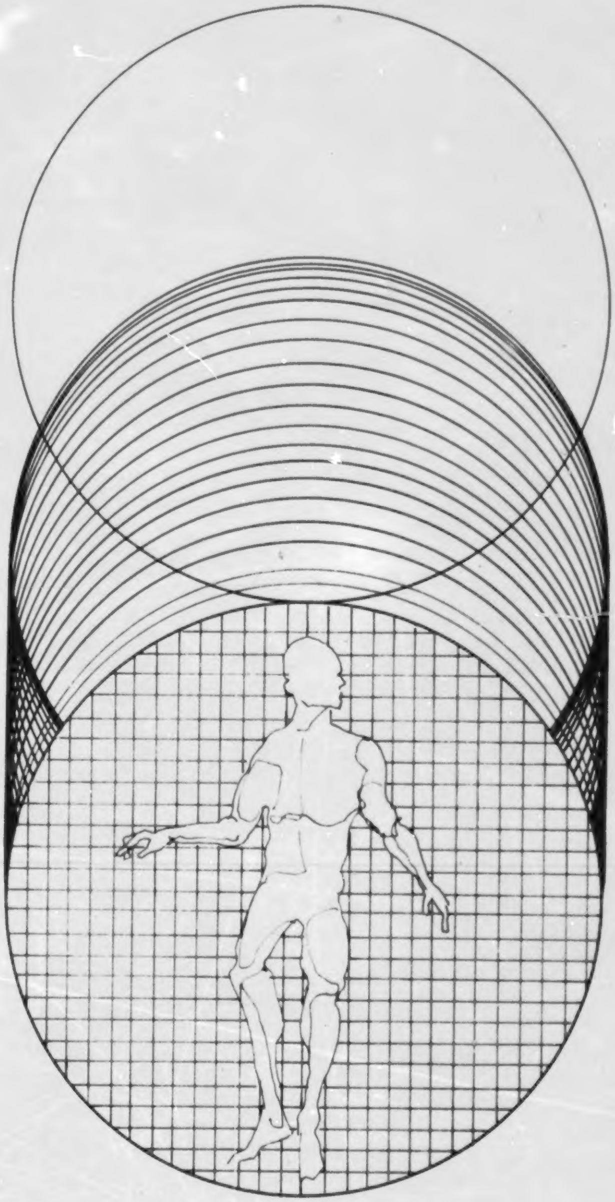
studying the life cycle



Life, happy or unhappy, successful or unsuccessful, is extraordinarily interesting.
George Bernard Shaw

WHY STUDY THE LIFE CYCLE?

Anthropologists study the *life cycle* for many reasons. In describing a culture, an anthropologist discusses its *economics*, technology, and *social* and *political* organization. Often, though, these descriptions are not enough to show how a culture functions and changes through time. But by investigating the life cycle, the anthropologist is able to understand how different parts of a culture affect each other and the lives of individuals. Furthermore, a study of the life cycle can demonstrate how cultures change.

Anthropologists may study the life cycle in order to help them learn how an individual is *enculturated*—that is, the way a person adapts to his culture and learns how to behave in his role and place in society.

The anthropologist may also study how man is *acculturated*. By acculturated we mean how man learns the ways of a culture which is not his own. For example, after continued contact between Japanese and Americans, baseball has become a major spectator sport in Japan.

How have things changed in your neighborhood during your lifetime? Have these changes affected you?

Life cycle studies can help the anthropologist understand what happens to a person when a culture is changing rapidly. Such studies help the anthropologist understand the kinds of problems people face in the process of just living or growing up. This unit will make you more aware of your own surroundings. It will help you to understand yourself and others better.

List some of the reasons why an anthropologist studies the life cycle.

Just how well do you understand yourself?

What value is it to us to study the life cycle?

WAYS OF STUDYING THE LIFE CYCLE

In order to study the life cycle, the anthropologist usually goes into the field where he can study people directly. Once there, he uses some combination of the following three methods.

1. Observation. One of the ways an anthropologist studies people directly is by observation. He watches very carefully what people do. He records in his field diary or notebook what he sees. The longer he watches, the more he is able to learn.

Of course, it is impossible for the anthropologist to see everything that goes on among the people he is studying. You can understand this from your own experience. You cannot be everywhere at once, and neither can the anthropologist. He chooses the things he thinks are important and watches them.

What he chooses to watch will depend on the kinds of things an anthropologist wants to find out. The anthropologist who is trying to find out how people build their houses certainly will not observe all the same things that an anthropologist will who is studying how children grow up and learn about their own culture. A boy who wants to learn to be a pitcher will not spend as much time watching the outfielders as a boy who wants to play in the outfield.

It takes experience to know what things are important to watch. Even after the anthropologist selects what he wants to observe, he cannot watch everything at once. The boy who has decided to observe the pitchers cannot watch the bull pen and the pitcher's mound at the same time. He must decide what to watch and when. The anthropologist must do the same thing. *Discriminating* between the *relevant* and *irrelevant* is a key factor in learning.

If you want to remember what happened at the ball game, you keep some sort of record such as a score card. The anthropologist also records what he sees and what he hears. He may use a camera or a tape recorder. But most of the time, he writes his observations down in his field notebook. It is not possible for him to record everything. He would have to spend most of his time writing instead of observing. Again he must discriminate between the relevant and the irrelevant.

NOTE: Discuss the kinds of things you think would be important to watch if you were going to study the life cycle in your own community. Begin a field diary so that you may begin preparing for your final written report. Your ideas should change and become more specific as you progress through the unit. By writing a brief statement on what you feel is important to record, and by keeping daily observations, you will also give your teacher an instrument for measuring your learning progress.

How important do you think a field diary is? Try to remember all the things you did last weekend. Can you make an hourly list? What time did you eat lunch? Who were *all* the people you talked with? What did you do on the same date last month or a year ago?

2. ***Participant Observation.*** Usually an anthropologist does not just observe the people he is studying. He tries to make friends with at least some of them. These friends are the anthropologist's ***key informants.*** They tell the anthropologist about their way of life and help him to understand the things that are strange to him. With the help of these key informants, the anthropologist can become a ***participant-observer.*** As a participant-observer, he can begin to live like a native among the people he is studying.

If you think a minute, you will see how important participant observation is.
THINK!

Just watching the pitcher is not the best way to learn about pitching. It is also a very different experience to watch a ball game ***after*** you have learned to play than it was before when you knew very little about the rules. Once you have played the game, the moves each player makes have more meaning for you. You begin to think about how you would have acted if you had been playing at that very minute.

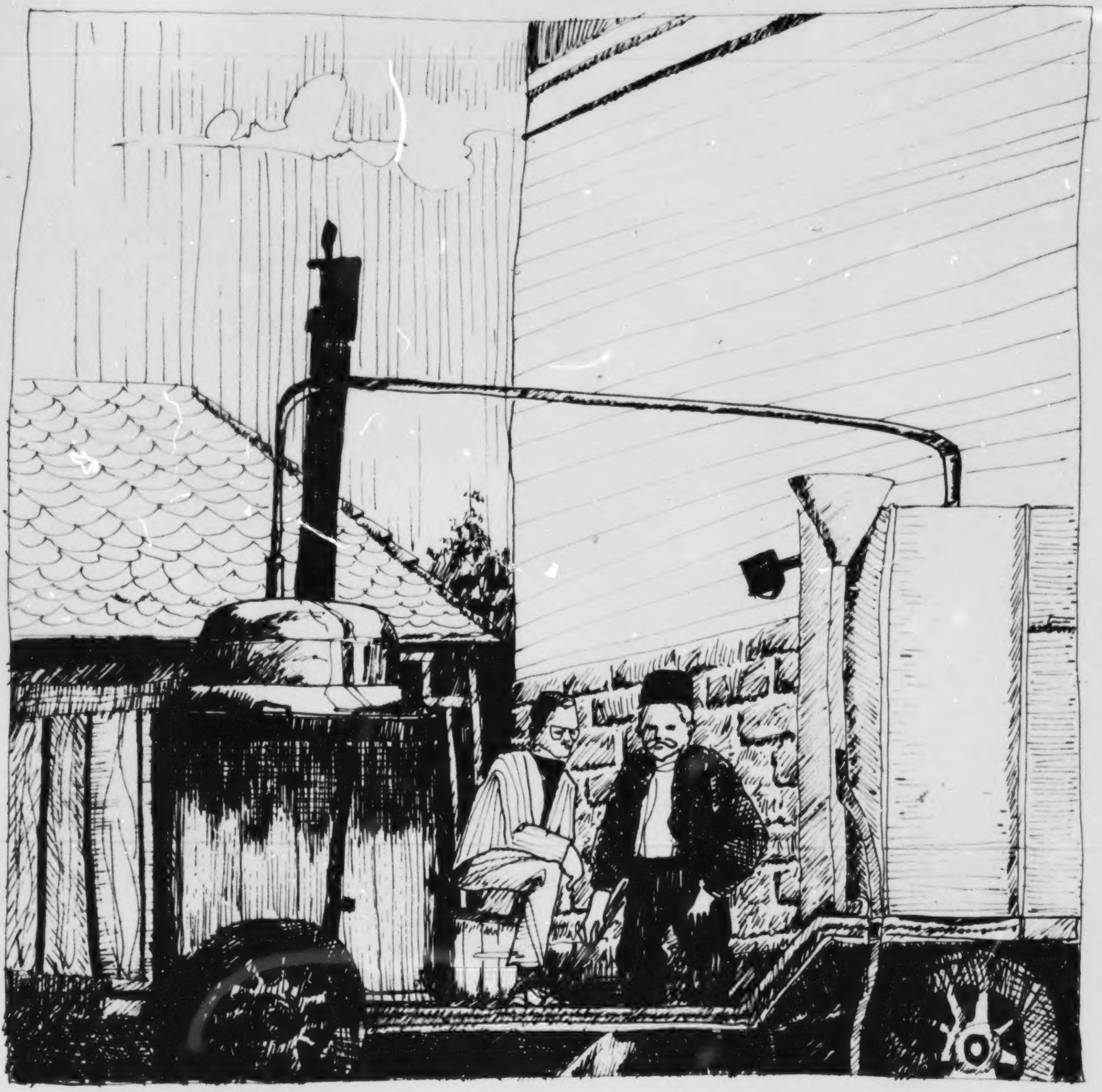
The same is true for an anthropologist when he studies people, with some exceptions.

NOTE: These situations differ from what an anthropologist does in that you:
1. Do not take notes
2. Are not making cross-cultural comparisons
3. Gain your information for personal knowledge and not to form a scientific body of knowledge.

Remember, too, how different the game seems to you while you are playing it. The anthropologist also gets a different view of the culture he is studying by becoming a participant-observer.

NOTE: Look for situations in your life that parallel what an anthropologist does when he becomes a participant-observer in a strange culture.
Perhaps:
1. Attending school for the first time and having to watch and be told by others what certain bell signals mean, or what the school rules are.
2. Going to a party and watching what other people do.

3. ***Questioning.*** Finally, the anthropologist often questions in detail some of the people he has been observing (key informants). The information from key informants helps him to learn many things that it might take him a very long time to find out by any other method. Question-



Through participant observation an anthropologist can begin to better understand the culture he is studying. Here he assists a Balkan coppersmith build a still for making brandy.

ing is also one of the ways an anthropologist learns about past events or things that he cannot possibly watch.

NOTE: These are the kinds of things other than past events that an anthropologist might be able to learn about only by questioning.
For example:
1. Things that he cannot possibly see, including thoughts and ideas.
2. Private events that are attended only by certain individuals, such as religious ceremonies, birth of children.
3. Certain categories of events that may be restricted to certain categories of people. For example, a man cannot enter certain areas of a woman's residence hall; individuals who are not professionally trained do not enter operating rooms.

Have you ever been a key informant?

NOTE: Discuss the similarity between befriending new neighbors and helping them adjust to their new home and neighborhood and the role of a key informant.

USING THE METHODS OF STUDY

The anthropologist frequently uses all of these three procedures—observation, participant observation, and questioning—when he studies life cycle. Obviously, the anthropologist studying the life cycle does not have time to watch one individual develop from birth to death except under very unusual circumstances. Instead, he must watch and question many people who have reached different points in the course of their lives. He often collects life histories from his key informants. Then the anthropologist can compare what his informants have told him about their own lives with the things he has actually seen.

Every person he observes will be different in some way, just as life histories vary from one person to another. Yet, gradually, certain patterns will begin to appear. The anthropologist begins to see that the same kinds of things happen again and again at similar times in many of the life histories he collects and in many of the lives he observes.

When this happens, the anthropologist can begin to *generalize* about his findings. At last he may feel he knows enough to construct a life cycle that is typical for the people he is studying. Only now does it become possible for the anthropologist to compare the life cycle of the people he has been studying with the life cycles of people in other cultures. By making this comparison he may find out that some of the things he took for granted about his own culture are not part of the life cycles of people in other cultures.

WHAT IS THE BIOLOGY OF THE LIFE CYCLE?

Human beings are born, they grow up, they have *offspring* of their own and, finally, they become old and die. This chain of events makes up the life cycle of man and is a characteristic of all other living things as well.

Very simple forms of life have almost no choice in the way they live their lives. Since their brain is not highly developed, it is their general biological makeup that determines the details of their life. As the *evolution* of the brain takes place, the ability to learn from experience increases. Then the animal begins to have a greater chance to change its way of life.

Because he is able to *communicate*, man can profit not only from his own experience, but from the experiences of others. This is why man has the greatest opportunity of all living things to vary the path of his life.

The life cycle is made up of both *biological* and *cultural* events. It is man's common biology that is the starting point on which cultural differences are built. So if we are to understand both the similarities and the differences in the great variety of ways that man chooses to live his life, we must first know something about the biology of the life cycle.

Generally speaking, life is a *continuum*. It is a series of uninterrupted gradual changes which begin with *conception* and end with death. Man spends a greater proportion of this continuum in maturing than almost any other animal. This long growing up period gives him time to learn the ways of his culture.

HOW GROWTH BEGINS

It takes about 226 days from the time of conception until a human baby is born. After *fertilization*, growth is very rapid. By the eighth week, the cluster of growing cells has a human appearance. The head has developed so that the brain is more nearly its adult shape than any other organ.

At birth, a baby usually weighs between five and nine pounds. It is small and helpless.

How much did you weigh at birth? How can you find out?

Find the class average. Does it fall into this range of five to nine pounds?

The newborn baby's body has the ability to fight off most diseases. It has *immunities* which developed from the mother during pregnancy. The infant usually does not need to be fed for the first 24 hours after birth. In fact, the mother's breasts may not fill up with milk until a day or two after delivery of the baby.

If the infant is breast fed, *weaning* may be an important aspect of the life cycle. In America, doctors are beginning to recommend that weaning take place at about three months. However, some babies are weaned at a few weeks while others might be breast fed until well past one year. Still other infants may not be breast fed at all.

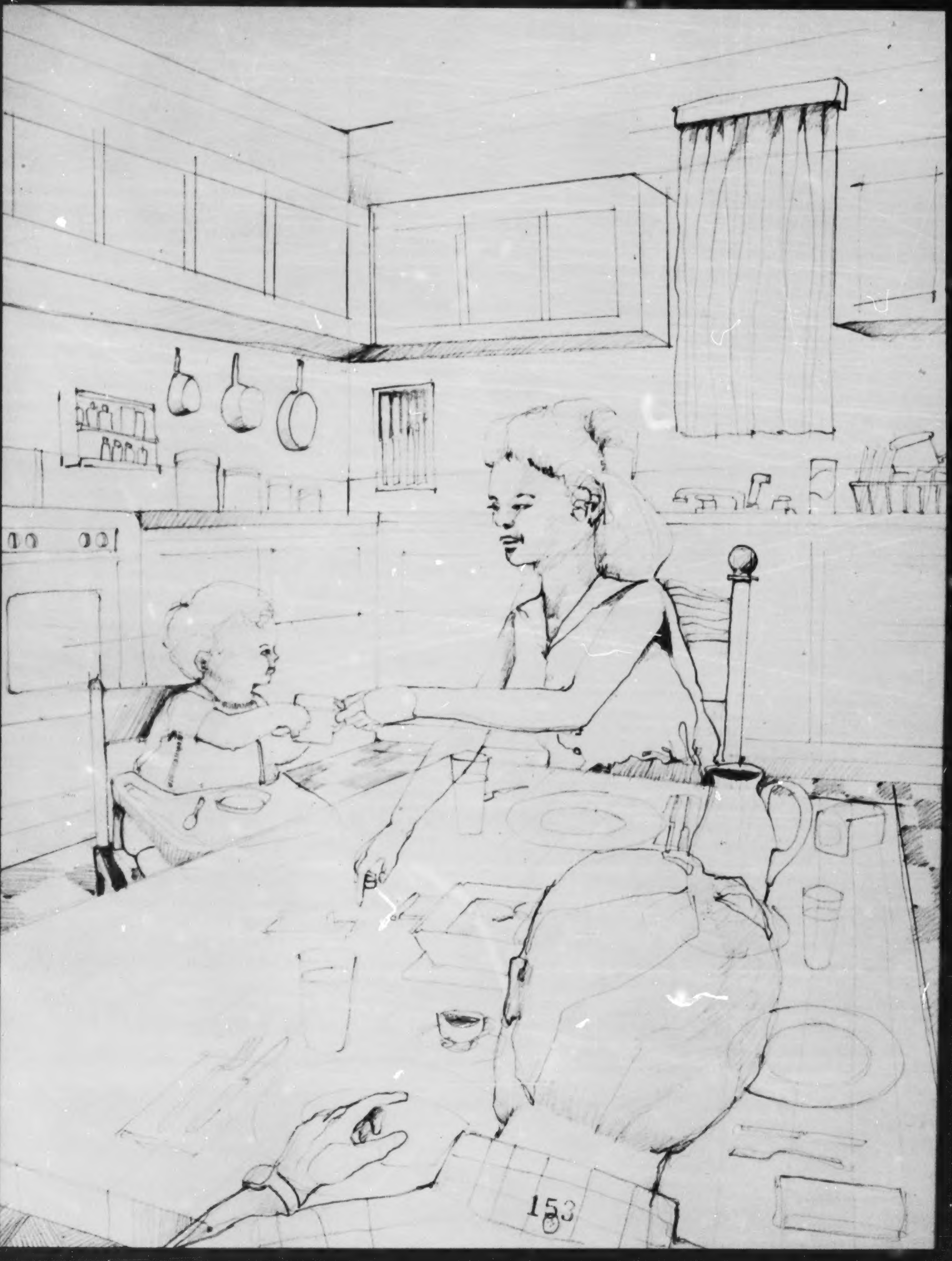
Social *customs* and *taboos* have a lot to do with the breast feeding and weaning of a baby. For instance, one American mother weaned her baby a week before setting out on a long automobile trip. She felt she would be too embarrassed to expose her breast for feeding while traveling in a car. In contrast, it is not uncommon to see a woman breast feeding a baby on a public bus in Vietnam and in other countries.

During the early months, the new arrival's sense organs are not fully developed, and it cannot use its thumb for grasping. Not until some time between the third and sixth month after birth will the baby begin to see distinctly. This occurs when the *cerebral cortex* finishes developing. By the sixth month, the baby can also begin to use its thumb for grasping, and its "milk teeth" may start to emerge.

When the baby is a year old, eight of his *deciduous* teeth probably have appeared. Generally, he is biologically ready to start exploring the world beyond himself. The next 10 to 12 years will add to his understanding of his world. His world will expand as his biological development gradually increases.

During infancy, much learning takes place. In fact, more learning takes place during the first year than in any other year in the life cycle. In that first year the infant probably learned to swallow food, roll over, crawl, stand, walk, imitate sounds, cry in order to get attention, avoid certain objects (like a hot iron), respond to certain sounds, and recognize objects in his environment. This list is not *exhaustive*. More can be added, such as the development of preferences for certain foods over others. But these examples should be enough to demonstrate the vast *quantity* of learning which takes places.

What does a baby learn to do during the first six months of life?



NOTE: Draw from your own experiences. Discuss the reasons for the possible inaccuracy of this information. Stress the difference between casual observation and scientific recorded observations.

Physical development continues at a rapid pace during these very early years. Then it seems to slow down. First the trunk grows longer and becomes thinner. Then the same thing happens to the legs and arms. By the time an individual is six years old, he has gained about two-thirds of his adult height. This is also the time when he begins to lose his baby teeth. By the time he is 12, all of his permanent teeth are in except the third molars or "wisdom teeth."

Throughout these years of slower development, youngsters may not want so much to eat. Some parents often worry because their children seem to have poor appetites and because they are so thin. But parents need not worry, for these are both natural results of the growing process. The body does not need as much food, and the youngsters are absorbed in learning about their environment. They often just don't seem to have time to eat.

THE BODY REACHES MATURITY

These years of gradual change finally come to an end. A spurt of growth occurs again, and the body seems to change toward biological maturity. This *pubescent* growth spurt includes the development of the secondary sex characteristics. But it also involves almost every part of the body. These changes usually begin in girls at about 11 and 12, and in boys between 13 and 15 1/2. All of these changes tend to create awkwardness, and it takes time for both boys and girls to get used to their new shape.

Not everyone matures at the same time or in the same way. Chronological age tells us very little about how far a person has progressed through these pubescent changes. The first indicator that this spurt has begun is the rapid growth of the feet. The next sign is the rapid lengthening of the long bones in the arms and legs. From this point on, males have relatively longer arms and legs than females.

Following this increase in height is an increase in weight. This is often called the "filling-out period." Weight is added to boys in the form of long bone and muscle tissue. On girls, fat makes up most of the additional weight.

At what point in the growth process do boys and girls begin to develop proportions which are characteristically different for the two sexes?

The whole process of sexual maturation takes from four and a half to five years. In boys, the first signs of this process are the rapid growth of the genitals and the appearance of pubic hair. About a year later, boys begin to develop a beard and axillary hair appears. Soon the male genitals will be capable of ejaculation, but it will be some time yet before they will produce mature spermatozoa. This usually occurs when the voice-change is complete.

In girls, the first signs of approaching sexual maturity are the development of the breasts and the appearance of pubic and axillary hair. The hips begin to broaden as the pelvic bones widen. This widening of the pelvis will end a girl's ability to compete on equal terms with boys in sports requiring running.

A girl's internal reproductive organs have also been developing, and now she may begin to menstruate. The beginning of menstruation does not necessarily mean she is completely mature. Sometimes it will take a girl as long as three years after the first menstruation before mature reproductive cells are produced.

NOTE: Running was of great importance in the survival of man in some simple societies and in man's early evolutionary development. It was important in order to escape enemies and sometimes to catch game.

Now the human body is mature and capable of reproduction. Men are larger and more muscular with longer legs and arms, heavier bones, and wider shoulders. Their hips are narrower, and they are generally more angular in all of their features. They are physically suited to carry out activities requiring strength and energy.

Women, on the other hand, are smaller and more rounded in appearance. Their hips are broad and they are physically suited for childbearing. Women are able to carry out tasks that require a low, steady, and prolonged output of energy.

After maturity, the body continues to change, but much more slowly. The wisdom teeth usually appear between the ages of 18 and 25. Body strength increases until about the twenty-fifth year, and the spine slowly grows until about the thirtieth year. Even the face and head continue to grow until the bones of the skull become fused. This usually does not occur until about the age of 60.

THE BODY BEGINS TO DECLINE

There is no line that marks the beginning of the body's decline. Males may begin to lose some of their physical powers as early as age 25. The ability to see and hear are already declining in men and women by age 30.

How do you think slight physical decline affects the jobs a man or woman can do? Do you think this will have more serious effects first for men or for women? Why?

If today in the U. S. A. life expectancy is *over* 65, how might you explain the loss of physical prowess at the relatively young age range of 25 to 35?

An obvious sign of aging in women is the beginning of *menopause*. This can happen almost any time after about the age of 40 to 45. Generally, menstruation ceases at that time and reproduction is no longer possible. During this "change of life" some women become nervous and irritable. They may have hot flashes and perspire, or they may suffer from spells of dizziness. But many women are not bothered by such things at all. Menopause does not necessarily end a woman's sex drive which may continue into her sixties.

There is nothing similar to menopause for men. Their reproductive abilities just gradually decline, but this does not mean that their sexual activity also ends. It may go on in a limited way until a very old age. Again social customs seem to affect this change in life.

Do you think menopause might affect a mother's relationship to her children and family? How?

Gradually, the body continues to decline. The organs no longer work as well as they once did. It becomes more and more difficult for the body to fight diseases or heal a wound. The senses begin to fail. Old people may become deaf or blind. They may begin forgetting things. They may not know where they are or who is with them. Finally, something happens to bring life to an end.

These are the events that all men may share. *They are the foundations upon which man builds his culture.*

WHAT FACTORS INFLUENCE THE BIOLOGY OF LIFE?

The biological continuum of human life is influenced in many ways. The genes outline a pattern for growth and development that affects the individual from conception until death. But this genetic plan is altered by many non-hereditary factors throughout the course of a lifetime.

Heredity. An individual cannot choose his heredity. It is fixed at the time of conception.

Heredity not only determines the color of a person's eyes. It is also important in determining nearly every aspect of biological growth and development. Whether an individual is born with some of his first teeth already showing through the gums, or whether he will mature early or late—all these things are strongly influenced by heredity.

Certain physical defects, like dwarfism or having more than five fingers, may be inherited, as well as some kinds of mental deficiency. Even the length of life itself involves heredity.

Endocrine system. The endocrine glands are almost completely responsible for carrying out the instructions of the genes regarding growth and development. These ductless glands guide the body to maturity and direct the gradual decline which finally ends in death.

The endocrines do this by secreting complex chemical compounds called *hormones* directly into the bloodstream. There the hormones react with other compounds to start and control much of the activity that goes on within the body.

What are the chemical compounds called that help to regulate growth and development?

Prenatal environment. The pattern of development set by the genes can be altered even before birth. The age of the mother may affect the unborn child. If she is very young or getting along toward the end of her reproductive period, her body sometimes may not be able to supply the necessary hormones for early prenatal growth.

High blood pressure, diabetes, and other non-infectious conditions can alter normal development before birth occurs. Severe infections, poor nutrition, and some medications may also cause damage to the unborn child. Even emotional problems can produce chemical changes in the body that may disturb prenatal development and produce lifelong effects.

What are some of the factors that influence the growth and development of the unborn child?

Nutrition. Everyone has the need for certain foods. Proteins, fats, vitamins, minerals, and a minimum number of calories are necessary for the body to live, grow, and develop normally.

How do you think culture might affect the amounts and kinds of food a person eats?

The amounts of protein a person eats helps to determine how tall he will become. Good nutrition usually allows a person to mature more rapidly and helps him live longer. Malnutrition can delay growth or can reduce the overall size of an individual. In severe cases, deficiency diseases may develop. Rickets, which is caused by not getting enough Vitamin D, can alter the shape of the bones in the body for life. Scurvy is a condition that comes from a lack of Vitamin C, and pellagra is caused by not getting enough Vitamin B.

In wealthy countries like our own, these conditions are not as common as they once were. But in some places in the world they still are a major problem.

Climate. The exact effects of climate on biological changes are still uncertain. It is often difficult to separate them from nutritional factors. Still, there are variations among populations living in different climates.

Heavy-set people with thick chests, short arms and legs, and fat-covered wrists and ankles are more common in cold climates. Their short, thick bodies help them to retain body heat. Lean, skinny people with long arms and legs and short, shallow bodies are found more often in hot, dry climates. Their bodies expose a larger surface area to the air which helps them to keep cool. Of course, people who live in air-conditioned and centrally-heated buildings will be less affected by climatic conditions.

How does climate affect growth and development?

Race. A population that shares enough of the same genes and has a common ancestry often produces a large proportion of people who have a distinct combination of physical traits in common. When such a group becomes at least partially isolated from other similar groups, it is called a race.

In man, there are very few racial distinctions and most of these are visible. Still, there are some differences among races in the way the body develops.

Only three months after conception, the unborn Negro has a broader nose, smaller hips, and longer arms than the unborn Caucasian of the same age. Both American and African Negroes begin to sit, crawl, and walk sooner than Caucasians. The teeth of Negro infants begin to appear through the gums several months sooner than the teeth of Caucasian babies. But by the time a Caucasian youngster is two years old, his development usually is further advanced than in Negroes of the same age. Why this occurs is not known, but the causes may not be entirely genetic.

In some cases, for example, systematic dietary differences between certain racial groups might contribute to differences in development. How might you try to test this assumption?

Infections and diseases. Childhood diseases like measles, chickenpox, and diphtheria have a great deal of influence on growth and development in many parts of the world. This is also true of diabetes, rheumatic fever and parasites like worms. In our culture, many of these conditions are no longer a serious problem. Medical science has found ways to control or eliminate them to a large extent.

How do you think infections and diseases might affect growth and development?

Emotional factors. It is surprising how quickly the body responds to all kinds of emotions. When people are content and happy, the body responds favorably. When people are disturbed or under some kind of stress, the body often undergoes changes that are harmful. Then certain hormones are secreted in large amounts. This may cause the pulse to speed up. Certain muscles may become tense and proper digestion may become a problem. Stomach ulcers are a common result of stress. If severe stress continues for long periods of time, it may cause problems to develop in nearly all the organs of the body.

When children are unhappy, they may lose weight and stop developing normally. In older people the inactivity, the feeling of uselessness, and the loneliness that cultures usually create appear to speed up their physical decline long before it is biologically necessary.

How do you think emotional factors influence the biological continuum during the later years of life?

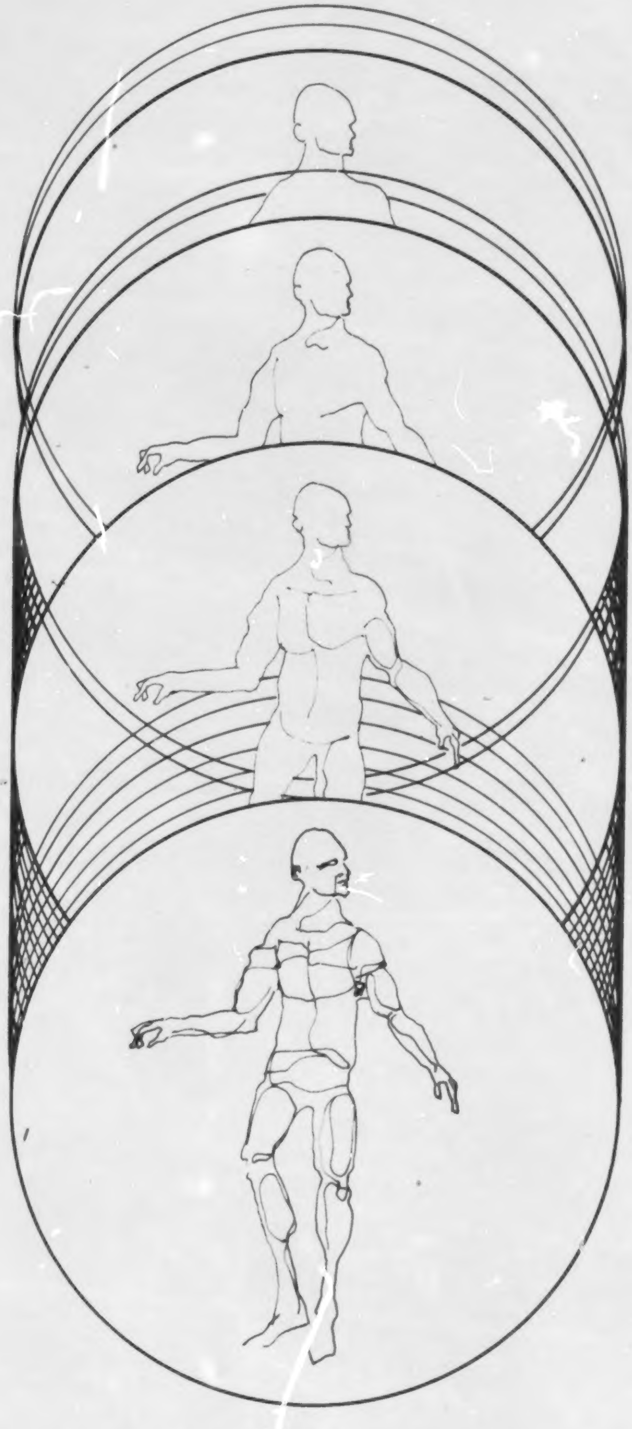
Cultural factors. You have already begun to see how culture may influence the other factors we have discussed. The biological continuum is effected by medicine which has helped to eliminate disease. Clothing and shelter may also effect the biological continuum by producing long range evolutionary changes.

Culture, which man has created, is a very important influence on the way man is born, grows, reproduces, and finally dies. How hungry would you have to be before you would be willing to eat monkeys, dogs or rats? Yet, there are people who eat all of these. In countries where food is scarce, our food taboos might seriously affect our physical well-being.

How important an influence do you think culture is on the biological continuum of human life?

3

a briefing session



An unlearned carpenter of my acquaintance once said in my hearing: "There is very little difference between one man and another, but what little there is, is very important."
William James

After the anthropologist has decided on the culture he will study, he visits the area which is to become his laboratory, and begins his investigation. This type of anthropologist in the field is an *ethnographer*, studying *one culture* in detail. Another type of anthropologist is the ethnologist. He takes the information which several enthnographers have gathered and *compares* the cultures they have studied.

We could try to be both types of anthropologists. First we will follow the footsteps of the ethnographer as he goes from culture to culture, and study in detail the life cycle of each group from conception to death. Next we will be ethnologists, comparing one point of the life cycle as it appears among four different cultures.

For example, we can look at the data the ethnographers have gathered for us on childhood among the Balkan people, the Tiv, the Americans, and the Chinese. We can then compare the information and draw our conclusions. After that we can move on to a study of adulthood among these groups, and so on through the life cycle.

For our study we can divide up the class into investigative teams. Each team of ethnographers will be responsible for the detailed study of one group at a particular point of the life cycle. Then we will become ethnologists, so we can compare findings and reach conclusions.

Our work can be compared to an investigation by a team of detectives working on an intriguing case, who divide up to seek clues and gather information. But the anthropologist in the field gets the cooperation of the group studied—an advantage which the detective often does not have.

You may develop role playing investigations at this time.

Our introductory chapters have prepared us in a general way for our task just as the anthropologist's training has prepared him to study cultures. But, like the anthropologist, we now need additional specific preparation before we enter the field as ethnographers. Like a detective preparing to solve a mysterious case, the anthropologist gains as much prior knowledge as possible about a situation before entering the field. So must we.

The first stage of our investigation is library research. We shall gain general knowledge about the people whose life cycles we want to study by first reading about their total culture. For this reason the authors have set aside this chapter as a briefing session to acquaint us with the people we will meet on entering the field laboratory. In this chapter you will get cultural background information and an overview of the life cycle of each group.

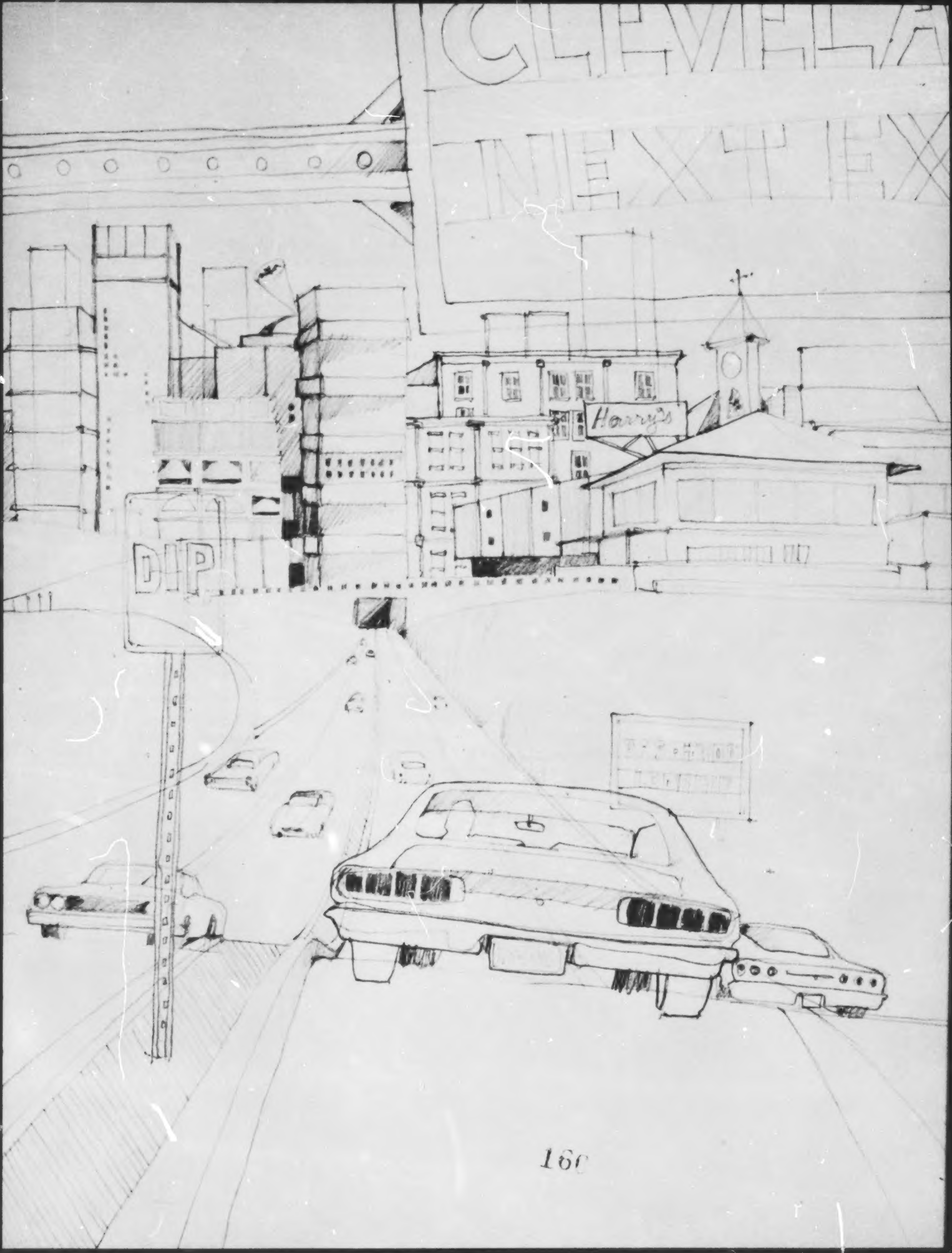
During this briefing session you should begin developing some questions about the groups. As you enter the field in later chapters, you should be able to find the answers to your questions. When you think of questions you are doing what the anthropologist does. He often formulates an *hypothesis* before entering the field. He then tests his hypothesis and finds his answers in the field.

Let us proceed now with the briefing session. First we shall be briefed on the culture of the United States of America. Then we shall go on to Africa, the Balkans, and China.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF AMERICANS

The United States is a relatively young nation composed of people from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Due to such diversity, it is extremely difficult to generalize about American culture.

American culture is a composite of many subcultures. For a long time, children in public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schools were taught that the U.S.A. is a "melting pot of nations." Such a description is somewhat deceiving. The phrase "melting pot" leaves one with the idea that people from various Old World cultures tossed off their old customs and developed a completely new way of life.

It might be more accurate to describe the United States as a "pot" with many different ingredients in it. As the pot bubbles away, each ingredient takes on some of the flavor of the others. After a while, most ingredients have certain flavors in common.

NOTE: You might take a survey of the class to determine the various New and Old World backgrounds from which the students come.

The problem of describing American culture is further complicated by the political structure of the nation. Relative freedom of religion and formal separation of church and state are granted by our Constitution's Bill of Rights. This makes it almost impossible to generalize about the population's religious beliefs the way we could in a nation like Italy. The democratic processes have worked to insure the greatest benefit for the greatest number. Thus Americans have maintained greater self-determination and social independence than many other peoples.

The nation's history and geography are still other factors which work against the creation of a *homogeneous* culture. For a long time the nation was divided into three major sections: East, South, and West. In your study of United States history you will find the problem of *sectionalism* cropping up time and time again. Even today when a national political party nominates a man for the presidency, there is much consideration of nominating for vice-president one who is from another section of the nation. For example, in 1964 Barry Goldwater (Arizona) ran with William Miller (New York) on the Republican ticket. In 1968, Hubert Humphrey, a Mid-westerner, chose a man from the Northeast to be his running-mate for vice-president.

Finally, the economic system and the rapid technical advancement of the nation has created even greater diversity. The capitalist system has allowed most people to earn as much money as they are capable of earning. As a result, some people became wealthy, some remained poor, while others found themselves between the two extremes. Social classes developed, based upon material wealth. In the United States, as in other free modern industrialized countries, we generally find an upper class, middle class, and a lower class of people based upon their material wealth.

These classes are called *socio-economic classes.* Their social standing is closely tied to their economic wealth. Some groups (Afro-Americans or Negroes, Latin Americans, Orientals) have been prevented from moving up the ladder in the socio-economic structure because they have been victims of illogical fears, hatreds, and prejudices. This situation has also prevented the development of a common culture.

Although much has been said about the factors which have prevented a common culture from developing, there *is* a common or *mass culture* in America. There are Americans who belong to a *subculture* and at the same time to a larger more general mass culture.

For example, a school teacher whose parents emigrated from Italy might teach students to behave at home and in school according to American middle class standards. Nevertheless, at home his children might be expected to behave according to the ways of a traditional Italian family, especially when their grandparents are visiting.

The foundation of American mass culture is found in the history of the United States. Having stemmed from British colonial rule, American mass culture has its roots in the British or *Anglo-Saxon* tradition. This is demonstrated by the fact that English is the common language of most American citizens. The American economy, *legal processes*, political system, and most of the middle class values stem from the Anglo-Saxon influence. All of these are shared by Americans to some extent.

Other factors which tend to support the creation of a mass culture in America are: the impact of mass communications, education, and family mobility. Radio, television, movies and newspapers help shape opinions from politics to fashions. Thus more and more Americans are thinking, dressing, speaking and acting alike. The vast wealth (*affluence*) of the nation has created common material and social wants among Americans in general.

Another primary factor in shaping a mass culture has been education. In public as well as many private schools, children are taught to love and honor their nation. Schools stress conformity to rules and regulations. And children are taught that they have a common heritage in the history of the United States. Thus, a child born in Japan but raised and educated in the United States might very well be graduated from high school with the attitude that he is an American first, and of Japanese descent second. And for all practical purposes, he may very well be correct.

Even though technological advancement has made people more diverse within the socio-economic structure, scientific technology has also done much to work in the other direction. Improved communication and transportation have allowed citizens in one section of the country to keep in close touch with people living in other sections. During the summer it is not uncommon to see vacationers from New York City driving through Tucson, Arizona, or a family from Georgia visiting Oregon.

Improved technology has led to the creation of large industrial complexes throughout the nation. Every year thousands of families move across the nation because the father has been transferred from one industrial complex (such as McDonald-Douglas in St. Louis, Missouri) to another (such as Boeing Corporation in Seattle, Washington).

American society is highly *mobile*. It is composed of many diverse groups living among each other. Individual achievement and free and open competition is a main feature of the national make-up.

In short, America is not a simple culture. It is complex. It is continually changing at an increasingly rapid pace. To speak of the American way of life in broad general terms without some qualifications might be as misleading as classifying apples, nuts, cotton, and tomatoes under the common heading of fruit. Nevertheless, there is in a broader sense a general mass culture which all Americans share.

When people speak of the American family, the *stereotype* is usually that of the ideal middle class family. In such a family we find a mother, a father, a sister, a brother, and possibly a cat or dog. The scene is usually a pleasant surburban home with a two car garage. Needless to say, this is not an accurate description of the total American culture. It is, however, considered an ideal for which many Americans strive. Since your study of life cycle in American culture will focus on the American middle class, keep in mind that this is only a *segment* of American culture. And even within this segment there is great diversity.

NOTE: A Problem in Stereotyping

Create a mental picture of the person as he is described.

DESCRIPTION
Name: Richard Douglas
Age: 27
Occupation: Engineer
Height: 6′ 2″, *Weight:* 190 lbs.
Son of Dr. William Douglas and Ann Douglas, teacher and housewife
Education: Whitehill High School
University of Colorado, B. S.
Purdue University, M. E. E.
(outstanding academic achiever)
Honors:
1. Voted The American Boy by the Good Citizenship Committee in Whitehill, Kan.
2. All American half-back while playing for Colorado University
3. President of his college fraternity

He is well dressed, clean shaven, and regarded as rather handsome by most.

Take a few moments to fill in other details on your own, such as color of hair, eyes, etc.

Once you have developed a mental picture, close your eyes and take a good look at your Richard Douglas.

O. K. I forgot to give you one other fact about Richard Douglas. He is Negro.

Chances are your mental picture has just blown up. You might briefly discuss stereotyping. The discussion should lead into an outline of the U. S. A. middle class life cycle which follows.

Among middle class Americans the life cycle may be divided into five major stages:

1. *Infancy*—from birth until the youngster starts school.
2. *Childhood*—from the end of stage one until about the time of puberty.
3. *Adolescence*—from the beginning of puberty until the individual achieves adult status.
4. *Adulthood*—from the achievement of adult status until retirement, approximately age 65.
5. *Old Age*—From retirement until death.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE TIV, A TRIBAL PEOPLE

The second group to be studied in our investigation of the life cycle has a culture less complex than ours. Based upon the following information, you might make early comparisons of how the life cycles differ between middle class Americans and the Tiv in Africa.

The Tiv live in northern and central Nigeria. Very little is known of their history. They probably moved to their present location a little more than a hundred years ago. Apparently they came from a place to the southeast of where they live today.

One of the reasons we know so little about their history is that the Tiv are a *non-literate* people. They do not have a written language. Another reason why we know so little about their past is that the Tiv themselves are not interested in history. The stories they pass on from generation to generation tell us very little about their past.

The Tiv occupy about 10,000 square miles of land. Most of this land is flat, but in some places hills rise to an altitude of about 4,000 feet. These hilly areas are covered with trees. The flat lands, especially along the rivers, are covered with grass. During the rainy seasons, this grass sometimes grows eight feet high.

In Tivland the year has only two seasons. One is a wet season; the other a dry season. The Tiv grow crops during both of these seasons. Their most important crops are millet, corn, and yams. One of the major goals in the life of a Tiv is to fill his yam stores and his granaries. Men, women, and children work together in the fields, but most of the hoeing and the planting of minor vegetables is done by the women.

The tools used by the Tiv for farming are simple: a short handled hoe, a machete, and a digging stick. They have no draft animals. They usually produce only enough for their own use. This is known as *subsistence farming*.

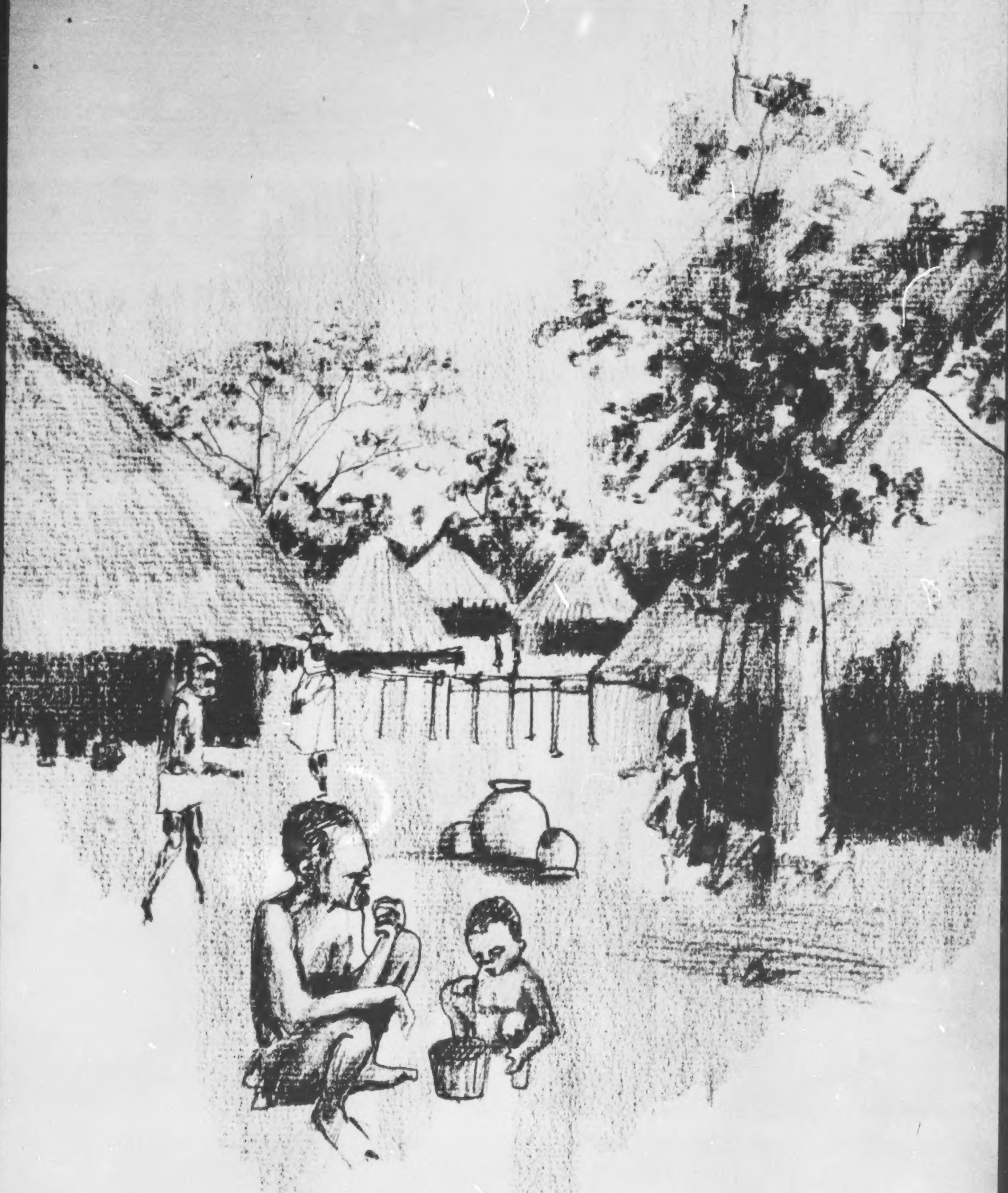
The Tiv do have livestock even if they do not have draft animals. There are not many cows, sheep and pigs, but you will find goats and chickens in every family *compound*. Dogs, guinea pigs, and cats may be kept as pets. Sometimes the guinea pigs are also eaten.

Although most of the Tiv are subsistence farmers, a few have worked on road gangs or have taken jobs as agricultural laborers. Wherever the Tiv have worked, they have earned the reputation of being good, honest laborers.

Some of the Tiv are craftsmen, and most Tiv learn to spin. Tiv woodwork and textiles are known both for their durability and their artistic merit. By selling these products in the local markets, the Tiv have been able to become richer than many of their neighbors.

The Tiv markets are open places where people usually come every fifth day to sell or trade their goods. In these market places, people from a number of villages meet and talk to each other. It is here where young Tiv may find someone they want to marry. The market places are where the Tiv also settle many of the arguments between people living in different villages.

In what ways do the Tiv use their market places? Can you think of where these vari-



ous activities are carried out in the U. S. A.?

A Tiv village or compound is made up of a group of round huts. Some of these huts are used for sleeping, some for receiving guests, and other for storage. There may be as many as 140 people in a single village, but usually a compound is made up of about 18 persons.

Each compound is named for its oldest male resident. This man is the official head of the compound. One of his jobs is to see that the village land is divided among the families living in his compound in such a way that each family has enough land to farm. Men from the same *patrilineal lineage* and their families usually live in the same village compound and are related to the village head in some way.

It is not uncommon for several neighboring villages to be occupied by members of the same lineage. Since Tiv marriages are *exogamous*, this means that a man must often seek a wife not only outside his own village but at some distance. In this way, each Tiv village established contacts with a number of villages throughout a fairly wide geographic area.

Even though the Tiv are *polygynous*, only about 20% of all the married men have more than one wife. When a man marries, he must give a *brideprice* to the family of the girl as part of the marriage agreement. Should a man decide to take a second wife, his first wife seldom complains, and they often become good friends.

Why do so few Tiv men have more than one wife?

The Tiv believe that the world was created by a god. This god placed in the world two great forces. Both of these forces can produce either good or evil. One of the forces is *akombo*. It is made up of many smaller natural forces. The Tiv believe if these natural forces are disturbed, things will go wrong. When this happens, a *diviner* is called to discover which *akombo* is involved. This diviner must perform the correct ritual to set things right again.

The other major force is *tsav*. This is a personal force within a man. The Tiv believe that every person is born with *tsav*. *Tsav* is man's *potential*. It is his ability to learn, to deal with things around him, to control the *akombo*, and even to live long. A man with great power or ability is thought to have a great deal of *tsav*. Such a man could be a sorcerer, but he does not have to be one. The Tiv believe every individual can direct his powers either for good or for evil.

NOTE: How does this stanza of the poem *Invictus* by William Ernest Henley relate to the religious beliefs of the Tiv?

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate:
I am the captain of my soul.

With this information of Tiv culture, we might preview the highlights of the Tiv life cycle.

The life cycle of the Tiv may be divided into six, possibly seven stages. These stages are not always the same for men and women.

1. From birth until a Tiv infant can sit alone easily. (Same for both sexes.)
2. From the end of stage one until the infant is old enough to become a nursemaid, or somewhere between the ages of five and eight. (Same for both sexes.)
3. From the end of stage two until marriage. (Same for both sexes, although girls tend to marry younger than boys.)
4. From the end of stage three until the birth of the first child. (For women.)
5. From the birth of the first child until a woman can no longer physically carry out

the difficult tasks of farming. (For women.) From the time a man becomes an elder usually at about 40 years of age until he no longer can take an active part in the community. (For men.)

6. From the end of stage five until death. (For both sexes.)

There would be seven stages in the Tiv life cycle if the birth of the first child were considered important enough to move the father into the next stage of the life cycle. An alternative would be when a man felt he could sponsor a new *age grade*. An age grade is a social group based on relative or absolute age. Whether either of these events make a significant change in the man's life to mark off a separate stage in the life cycle is not clear.

Part of the reason for this uncertainty is that the Tiv do not divide the life cycle into clearly separate stages like the other cultures we will study. Instead, they usually compare one individual to another in a given situation.

> Perhaps you can already point out strong differences between American and Tiv cultures regarding the life cycle. Imagine a Tiv family suddenly uprooted and transplanted into middle class suburbia U. S. A. That might take a lot of imagination. Do you think they would adapt? Actually, it might be interesting to keep such a problem in the back of our minds as we continue our briefing of the four groups.

At this point let us leave the Tiv and move on to the Balkans and then China.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE BALKAN PEASANT

The Balkan Peninsula is in the southernmost part of Eastern Europe. Today it is made up of five nations: Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. The people of these five nations speak at least one of seven languages. Their religious faith may be Greek Orthodox, Islam, or Roman Catholic. But they share a very similar way of life.

The early history of the area is not well known. Slavic people began to settle in the area during the first century A.D. Later the Turks moved into the region. These Turks brought with them the Islamic faith and a special kind of family system called the *zadruga*. When the Austrians came, during the 17th century, the Turks fought with them over the Balkans for almost 200 years.

During all this time the Balkans had never been united. People lived in small isolated communities. Finally the Greeks joined together and, in 1829, won their independence from the Turks. It was not until shortly after 1850 that Rumania and Bulgaria became independent states. Two more nations, Albania and Yugoslavia, appeared by 1920. But the invasion of the Balkans by the Germans during the Second World War helped to destroy the national unity of Yugoslavia. Later this unity was restored under Tito, who still heads the nation.

> Have the Balkan people always been politically united?

Today all the Balkan nations are interested in industrialization, yet more than 70% of the people still make their living from the land. They use methods that show very little change.

> How does this compare with United States culture?

The Serbian peasants of Yugoslavia are similar in many ways to peasants in other parts of the Balkans. By studying these Serbs, we can learn something about the people of the Balkans as a whole.

Most Serbian peasants use draft animals for plowing and hauling. Even cows may pull the plow. Sometimes men carry the fodder crops from the fields on their backs in 130 pound loads, and weeding is usually done by hand with a metal hoe.

Although the peasants work hard, they seldom have more than small amounts of their produce to take to market. The selling of wine, horses, cattle, and swine is the most important source of cash income for them.

A few people may make some money by work other than farming. If a village is near a mine or factory, some villagers may work there. Other people may be self-employed craftsmen. But the main concerns of the people are still crops, livestock, and the seasonal cycle of planting and harvesting.

Discuss the factors that help to make the Balkans a cultural unit.

Characteristically peasants do *not* have large surpluses to take to market. Why then do you think these people are so concerned about crops and livestock? What effect do you think these interests can have on the life cycle? How might the way one makes a living affect the pattern of the life cycle?

Peasants in Serbia do not live in isolated farmhouses. They live in villages. Almost every village has its own combined store and tavern. It is in front of these stores that the men of the village gather in the evening to sit and talk.

The most important unit in the village is the household group. These household groups may be either a *nuclear family* or a *zadruga*. The most common household group is the nuclear family. It is made up of a man, his wife, and their children. Sometimes a grandparent or some other related person may be part of the household.

The *zadruga* is an extended family group. It is made up of at least two or more nuclear families who share a common house and economy. These families are related closely by blood or adoption.

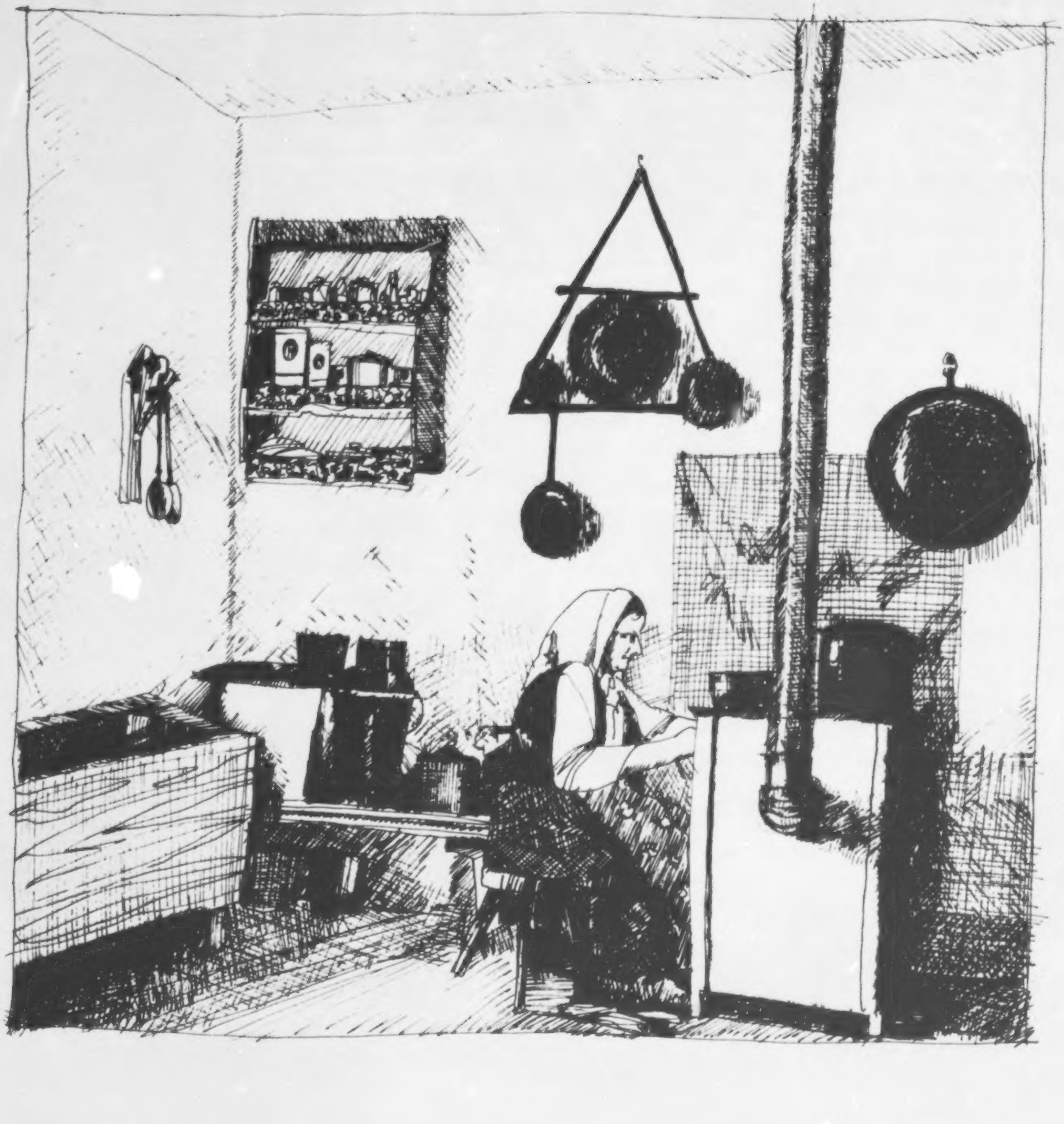
Every family belongs to a *lineage*. People who belong to the same lineage trace their origin to a common ancestor and have the same last name. In Serbia, peasants who are members of a Christian lineage pray to the same patron saint. These lineage ties are very important to the Serbian villager. Usually members of the same lineage live in the same neighborhood. They do not marry one another, but they attend funerals, weddings, and other important occasions together.

NOTE: The breakdown of the *zadruga* might lead naturally to the importance of lineage membership, with local residence for lineage members and lineage function in ceremonies. The attitudes of individuals within the nuclear family may also have their origin in the *zadruga* structure.

Since members of a village customarily belong to the same religious faith, religious practices help to unify the village. From region to region the actual observances and beliefs vary according to the religion of the villagers. But regardless of the faith, for Balkan (and most other) peasants, religion and daily life are closely related. There is no strong religious oppression in Tito's Yugoslavia.

For the Serbian Orthodox Christian peasant, church attendance is irregular. Only at Easter are there more than a small number of people attending church services at the same time. The graveyard and the home are more important as religious and ceremonial centers.

One of the most important religious festivals of the Serbian Orthodox peasant is the *salva* given in honor of the patron saint of the lineage. The priest comes to the home to bless the water which will be used in making the special *salva* cakes. Both men and women prepare the food that will be eaten by all the people invited.



The life cycle of the Serbian Orthodox Christian peasant is divided into eight stages:

1. *Infancy*—from birth until the baby begins to crawl and speak recognizable sounds, which usually occurs between the seventh and the ninth month.
2. *Childhood*—from the end of babyhood until the child is about 16 or 17. This includes a period between 8 and 15 when the child has a status of student.
3. *Adolescence*—from the age of 16 or 17 until marriage.
4. From marriage until the birth of the first child.
5. *Full adulthood*—from the birth of the first child until about the age of 40 when a person achieves the status of elder.
6. From the age of 40 until about the age of 50.
7. After age 50 until just before death.
8. During the final period of life when it is felt the individual is dying.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

At present, China is going through a period of great change. The Communist revolution is the main cause of this change. The Chinese culture which you will be studying was most common before World War II. It is possible that you will still find some villages relatively unchanged since the war. But, in general, life in China has changed very much at all social levels.

China, a nation of vast size and population, was a helpless victim of other powers during the nineteenth century. European nations divided her up and squeezed her economy to the last drop for their own profit. During World War II, the Japanese used China as a testing ground for Japan's Imperial Army.

Today, the Peoples Republic of China is one of the most powerful nations in the world. The Communist dictatorship which rules China has pushed China into a period of heavy industry. *Nationalism* has become another religion. Under the direction of Communist leaders, *communes* have replaced many traditional villages, and *collective farming* has replaced most other agricultural methods.

Some people believe China will not really change too much. They predict that Communism is only a passing fancy which will be overwhelmed by the long, deeply *imbedded* Chinese cultural heritage. Although this prediction does not seem to be true so far, it is interesting to note this strong respect for the strength of the very old Chinese culture. In any case, ***keep in mind*** the fact that you are ***not*** studying the present-day culture of the Chinese peasant.

Chinese civilization is very old. More than 3,000 years ago people burned letters to the dead just as some Chinese do today. They believe the smoke from their letters will carry the messages they have written to those who have died. But even those ancient letter writers were not the first people to live in China. The first inhabitants were *preliterate* and lived some 500,000 years ago!

What are some of the things that have remained the same in China for hundreds of generations?

The Chinese have always been very proud of their long cultural history. For centuries they have looked to the past for inspiration. Even today, many of their ancient beliefs and practices still exist in some form. These cultural traits help to unify the Chinese way of life both through time and space.

But this does not mean that no changes have taken place in China. The first people who lived in China had to move from place to place to stay alive. They depended on the wild plants and animals for food and clothing. Some of these people gradually gave up their *semi-*

nomadic ways. First those in the North learned to plant millet. Later people in the south of China began to raise rice. The dog and the pig became their first domestic animals.

By 1400 B.C., settled farmers were producing enough food to support not only themselves, but a variety of specialists and officials who did not work on the land. Cities and towns as well as rural villages became more numerous. The people developed their art and literature and made many technological advances.

They believed in *natural deities* and worshiped the earth as well as the "ruler above" called *Shang Ti.* Maintaining harmony with these forces and the ancestral spirits was very important, for these powers could make life either difficult or easy for the living. Families kept records and made offerings in ancestral shrines to be sure the dead were not forgotten.

Why is Chinese culture considered to be a *civilization?* (To answer this question you must first investigate the meaning of civilization.)

For generations people gained power and position by owning land. The most important people were military officers, government officials, and land owners. Many people inherited their social position, but some were able to gain respect and power through their own personal achievements.

Beneath this *aristocracy* were the common people. These people worked in fields they did not own and paid high taxes. Their houses were assigned to them, and they were required to wear simple rough clothing. If they were treated badly by the land owners, they had no way to take legal action against their tormentors.

Even lower than the *commoners* were the slaves. These were prisoners taken in battle, and the surviving relatives of criminals who had been put to death.

Everyone thought social relationships should be similar to a family relationship. As fathers look after their sons, so landlords should take care of the families that worked in their fields. They thought political leaders must direct and watch over their subjects just as the family head guides his family. Of course, in practice not all fathers are just, and neither were all landlords or all political leaders.

How was the government of China like an extension of the family?

Confucius, who was born about 600 B.C., was not a religious prophet. But he was disturbed by the way leaders and land owners often abused the commoners. He believed that justice and harmony could be maintained if people lived by the rules of five great relationships:

1. A father should be kind; a son loyal and reverent.
2. An elder brother should be honorable and courteous; a younger brother respectful and modest (humble).
3. A husband should be righteous; a wife obedient.
4. Elders should be considerate; juniors willing and ready to carry out the requests of their elders.
5. Rulers should be willing to promote prosperity and happiness in others; ministers and subjects should be loyal.

Do you think Confucius' five great relationships could lead to a just and harmonius life for everyone? Why?

NOTE: Obedience need not mean subservience. In each relationship, if the dominant individual carries out his or her part of the relationship properly, the less dominant member should not suffer.

The majority of Chinese people still live in villages and make their living from the land. If the village is small, most of the people who stay there are usually related to one another. Those families that trace their descent through the male line to a common ancestor belong to the same *tsu*. Not all *tsu* members live in the same village, but the village of the common ancestor is felt to be the center of the *tsu*.

All members of one *tsu* have the same last name. Sometimes the members of two or more *tsu* also have the same last name. All individuals who have the same last name belong to the same *hsing* even if they belong to a different *tsu*. Members of the same *hsing* are exogamous. They do not intermarry. This means that members of the same *tsu* are also exogamous, and that people living in the same village often have to look for someone to marry from a different village.

NOTE: The above paragraph dealing with *tsu* and *hsing* may be difficult. Be sure you understand the difference between exogamy and endogamy before going on.

In what ways are the *tsu* of China like the Balkan lineages?

Review the terms: monogamy
polygyny
polygamy
polyandry

What is the term that describes the taking of sisters for co-wives?

Chinese families today are usually monogamous. But a man may take additional wives, especially if his first wife did not bear him a son. These additional wives may be the sisters of his first wife.

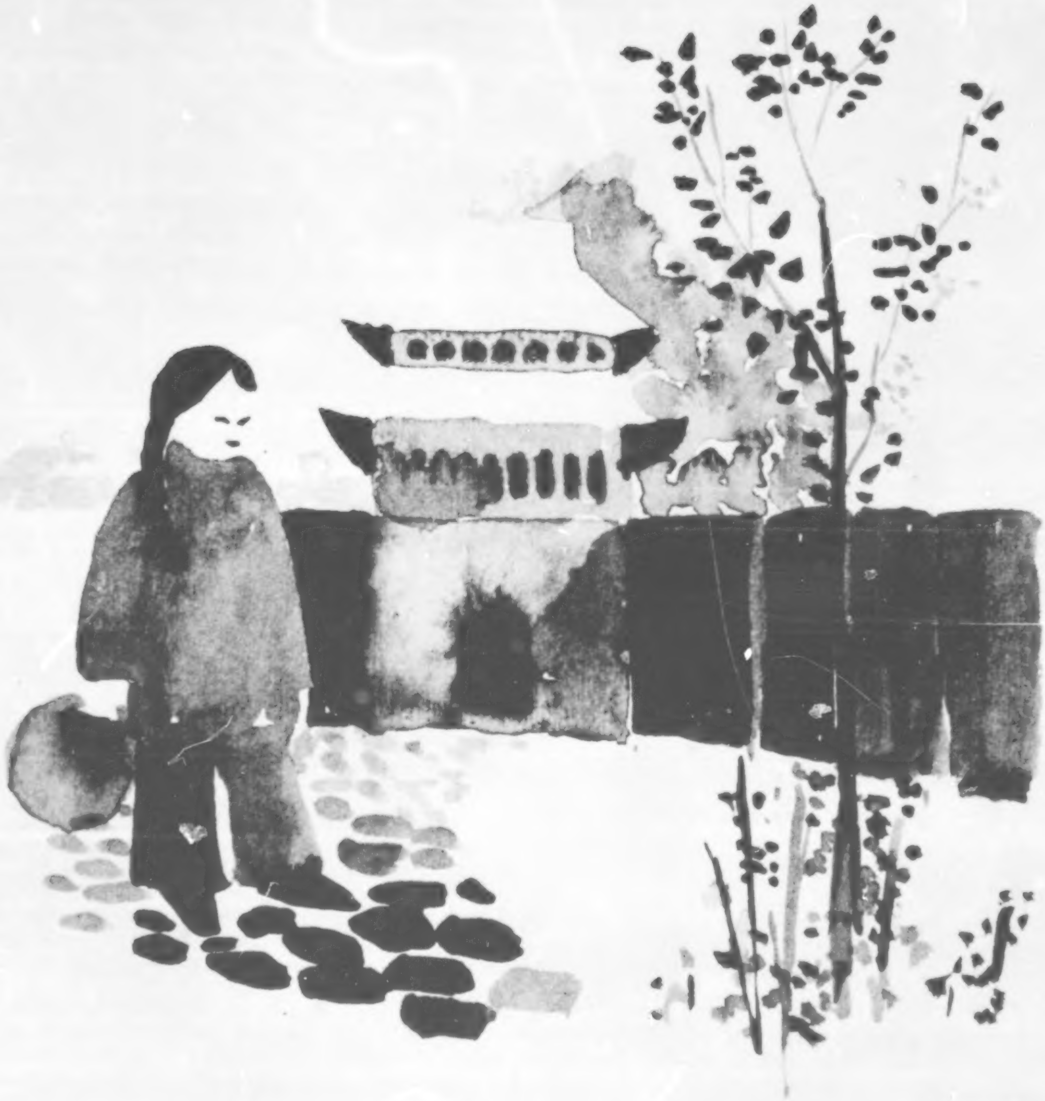
The most desired family in China is the large extended family. It may include more than 30 people and three generations, all living under the same roof. Ideally, the oldest direct descendent of the family founder is the family head. In the past he had the power of life and death over the members of his household. He expects to be obeyed and respected even today.

The Chinese have built their culture around the ideas of their family organization. They have looked to their rulers as they would look to the heads of their families. They have seen their god as a father and the earth as a mother. They have made their ancestors immortal through records and shrines. They have kept them as a part of the family through regular offerings and rituals. Chinese culture can perhaps be best understood through an understanding of Chinese family life and the life cycle.

The Chinese life cycle is divided into eight stages:

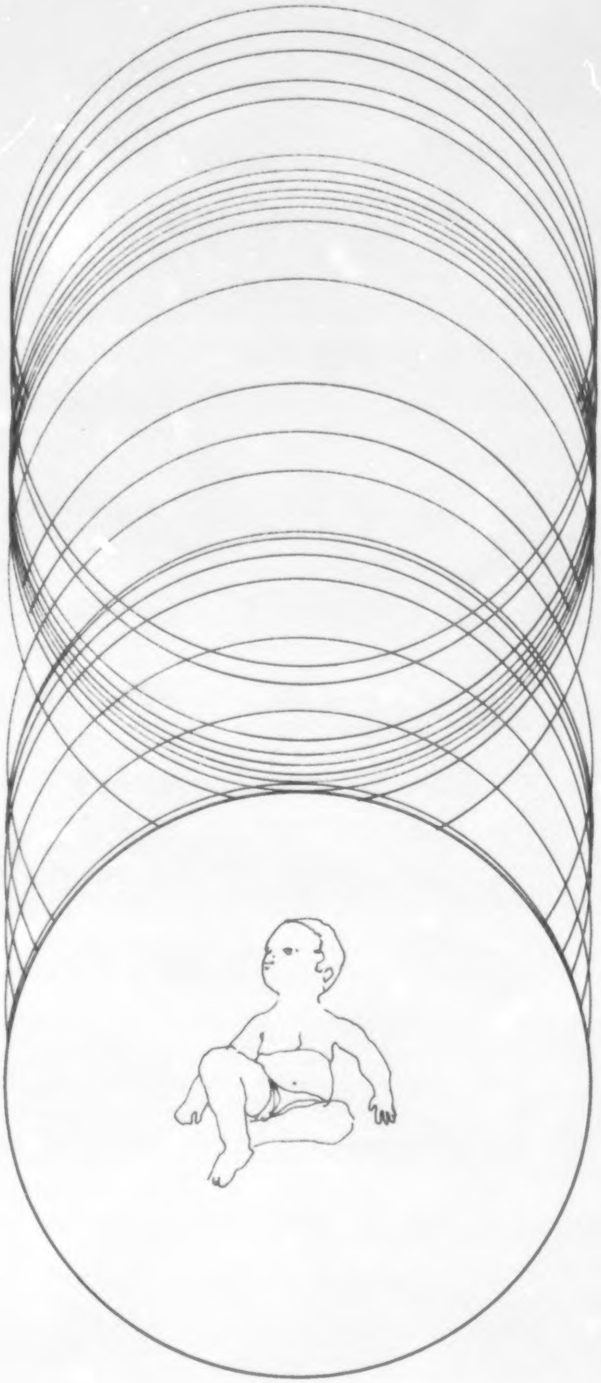
1. From birth until the arrival of the next baby or, if there is no next baby, until the youngster is about three years old.
2. From the time the child is placed under the care of the father until the youngster is able to do certain things by himself, or when he is about six years old.
3. During the time from the end of stage two until boys and girls are no longer allowed to play without adult supervision, or about ten years of age.
4. From the end of stage 3 until marriage.
5. From the time of marriage until the birth of the first child.
6. From the birth of the first child until the marriage of the first son.
7. From the marriage of the first son until the birth of the first grandchild.
8. From the birth of the first grandchild until death.

We have concluded our briefings on the four cultures. By keeping aware of similarities and differences among the cultures, we shall be able to view the various life cycle stages more critically. Furthermore, we shall have a greater understanding of the life cycle and the effect of culture on it.



4

life begins



> *Infancy: The period of our lives when, according to Wordsworth, "Heaven lies about us." The world begins lying about us pretty soon afterward.*
>
> *Ambrose Bierce*

Throughout history, men have tried to define life. Others have asked questions such as, "Does life have a beginning and an end? If so, when does life begin and when does it end?"

Some theologians answered intuitively or through interpretation of religious dogma that life begins at conception. Others resolved that life begins at birth. Still others explained that life does not begin until the newly born infant is admitted to his religious group at some time after birth—sometimes as much as two years later.

The scientist knows through observation and experimentation that the process of human development begins when the female egg is fertilized by the sperm of the male. Therefore, if you wished to define the beginning of life as the beginning of growth, you would probably say it begins with conception—that instant when an egg is fertilized and development begins.

A Moment for Reflection

If we stop and think for a moment, doesn't it seem strange that every human being began as a very tiny fertilized egg. You, your friends, even your teacher were once *zygotes*. Even George Washington and the current president of the United States are no exceptions.

From birth to death life goes on without any natural breaks. Life is a continuum. In the beginning, the individual is helpless. It would be impossible for the infant to survive alone without some kind of care. As the individual grows, he needs less and less care, and more and more opportunity to explore and learn about the world around him.

Once the person is mature he can have children of his own. But he must have the knowledge to look after himself and the new individuals he helps to create. Then in time, everyone's body begins to decline. It becomes no longer possible for the individual to do all the things he once did. Gradually, his children and other young people take over the tasks he once did. And finally, he finds himself again almost totally dependent on others. At last he dies.

This is the normal sequence of events which all cultures have to account for in some way. Since man is a great organizer, he tends to break events up into parts and to give the parts names. But since all people do not think in exactly the same fashion, they do not see things in the same way. As a result, they often organize things differently. This is true of the life cycle as well as everything else man sees or thinks about.

Within each culture, the life cycle is arranged into a series of stages. The number and length of these stages vary a great deal from culture to culture. Generally, they are closely related to biological needs and developments but sometimes they are not.

Do all cultures organize the life cycle into the same number of stages? Can you give any reasons for your answer?

The Western Apache Indians recognize six divisions in the life cycle: babyhood, childhood, youth, young manhood or young womanhood, middle age, and old age. The Mesaken, an African culture of the central Sudan, talk about only three divisions: *yate*, life before sexual maturity; *kaduma*, from the end of *yate* to the beginning of parenthood and *mede*, including all the years after the first child is born.

In some cultures, these divisions do not seem to be very important. But in others, the whole culture appears to center around groupings based on age. Age grading is common in Africa. Among the Nyakyusa, one's age-mates are more important than one's own family. Only very young children live with their relatives. Children who belong to the same age grade leave home and build villages of their own.

Age grading also occurs to a lesser degree in our culture. American parents often believe that association with one's peers may be more important than association with one's family and kin. Especially during the early years, age is a very important way of grouping people. We do not expect the same things of a toddler as we do of a first grader. The American boy who grows up in a neighborhood where all the children are either a year older or a year younger than himself often complains because he has nobody his own age to play with. Yet in many cultures, children of different ages play together without feeling that they are so different.

How many differently named groupings like toddler, baby, infant, etc., can you think of that are used for youngsters during the first six years of life in the U. S. A.

Do some of these groupings include others? Do you think they each represent a different stage in the life cycle?

It is obvious that the way a person is expected to act changes at different stages in the life cycle. To help the individual make the shift from one stage to the next, cultures often mark these transitions by impressive rituals. Anthropologists call these ceremonies *rites of passage.*

Among the Yuman peoples who live along the Gila and Colorado rivers, there is a celebration when it is time for several boys to become adults. This celebration lasts several nights, and on the last night a dance is held. The boys are shown a picture that has been drawn on the ground. After the meaning of the picture has been explained to them, they have completed their rite of passage and have become adults.

In American culture, the transition to adulthood is a long process. There are no rites of passage to help boys and girls know when they have become adults. There is no way to let adults know that now these boys and girls are no longer children and should be treated as adults. This leads to confusion and helps to bring about the problems of adolescence.

Regardless of whether a culture has elaborate rites of passage, most cultures recognize in one way or another four broad periods in the life cycle: *infancy*, the period of helplessness when the individual must be cared for by others; *childhood*, when the youngster is growing and learning the ways of his culture; *adulthood*, when the individual is physically mature, can reproduce, and participate fully in his culture; and *old age*, when once again the person grows increasingly dependent on others.

Birth and death are the only two truly *biological* transitions. All the rest are created by *culture*, as man divides up the continuum of human life to suit himself.

What is the one thing that all cultures must take into account when they organize the life cycle?

PREGNANCY, BIRTH, AND INFANCY

All cultures recognize an initial period of life when the new individual is totally dependent on others. This period may begin before or even after birth. In cultures where female *infanticide* is practiced, the infant is usually allowed to die immediately after birth. These people do not feel that they have done wrong because for them a newborn baby is not yet considered to be a person.

NOTE: The point to be realized here is that *cultural birth*, the point at which the new life is recognized as an individual, may not always be identical with the moment of biological birth. Thus something as fundamental as birth may not be viewed the same way by all cultures.

Infancy has no absolute end. It usually lasts until the individual is weaned, is beginning to walk, and has started to recognize himself as an independent person.

Life begins with conception. This fact is generally known and unquestioned in our culture. But the fact that life begins when a reproductive male cell unites with a reproductive female cell is not understood in all parts of the world. In some cultures the people do not even realize that there must be a living human father to help create a baby.

The Trobriand Islanders, who live off the coast of New Guinea, believe conception takes place when the spirit of a dead kinsman enters the body of a woman while she wades in a pond. The Ashanti of Africa think that conception occurs when a ghost child is sent from the sky by a spirit mother.

Do you know any beliefs in this country about how babies arrive? Do you think there are any people in America who believe these stories?

The visible signs of pregnancy are hard to explain away. When the expectant mother's abdomen grows noticeably large, everyone knows an infant soon will be born and no further explanation is necessary. Since babies are usually desired in all cultures, it is natural that people should be pleased and concerned about the mother.

In every culture there are rules and regulations for the expectant mother to follow. A pregnant Jivaro Indian woman of South America must not eat salt, sweet fruits, sugar cane, or palm cabbage. Pregnant Togon women of Polynesia are forbidden to cut anything with a knife for fear the expected infant will become deformed. For Americans, pregnancy usually means taking pills, doing exercises, following a special diet, and visiting the doctor regularly. In all of these ways each culture tries to protect the expectant mother and the child to be born.

Although some cultures do not recognize the need for a biological father, others believe he is so important to the welfare of the unborn child that he too must observe certain rules. He may even be put to bed at the time of the infant's birth. This practice occurs in many places in the world and is known as the *couvade*. Now many anthropologists use this term to describe not only this practice, but all the customs carried out by expectant fathers during pregnancy and childbirth. These may be practices believed to aid in childbirth or to take the father's mind off the events in which he cannot personally help or participate.

Birth often occurs in a special place, with only a few elderly women present. Men rarely are allowed to be present. Our own culture with its male obstetricians is a noticeable exception to this. In India for example, most trained obstetricians are women.

The practice of women giving birth lying flat on their backs as is done in America is unusual and somewhat unnatural from a biological point of view. In other cultures women sit, kneel, or squat. Among the Tarahumare Indians of Mexico women give birth while standing.

Immediately after birth, both mother and newborn baby are exhausted. Their ability to fight infections is low. This is a time, like pregnancy, when the culture tries its best to help protect both mother and child. Again, there are many restrictions. The Shoshoni Indian mother and infant were kept isolated for 40 days in a special house away from the camp. In our own culture, mother and infant are isolated in a hospital. During this period, it may be impossible for even the father to see his child except through a glass window.

An important event that often occurs shortly after birth is the naming of the infant. Some cultures permit infanticide before naming takes place because, without a name, the newborn may not be considered a person.

What are some of the ways cultures try to help protect the mother and her baby during pregnancy and immediately after birth?

Do you think the naming of a baby could be a rite of passage? Explain your answer.

Are there naming ceremonies that take place at other times in the life cycle?

Infant care is a full time job. Every infant must be fed and kept reasonably warm, clean, dry and comfortable. Although mothers are usually extremely important in early infant care, they may be helped by their own mother, in-laws, sisters, friends, or older children. Bottle feeding has also freed many mothers from the demanding requirements of breast feeding the baby. In the *kibbutzim* in modern Israel, nurseries with professionally trained staffs care for some infants. In this way the mother is completely free to do other kinds of work.

What are some of the ways cultures arrange for the care of infants?

Every culture has its own way of carrying babies. Many people in the world, like the Navaho, use a cradle board. The infant is tightly *swaddled* or strapped to this special board, so it can be strapped to the mother's back. In this way the mother has her hands free. She can weave or work in the fields and still have her baby with her.

The Arapesh women put their babies in net bags. At home the bag, baby and all, is simply hung on a peg or nail. This keeps the baby cool and out of danger. Still, from his position, he is able to see all that is going on nearby.

Perhaps the first really important step toward independence is weaning. In some cultures this does not take place until a youngster is two or three years old. In middle class America it takes place whenever the baby seems ready to outgrow nursing from breast or bottle.

More can be said about infancy, but the purpose of this briefing is to lay some foundation for our study. Having gained some idea about infancy, we can begin our field work.

As we study the beginning of the life cycle in the four selected cultures, we shall observe variety and change. It will be most interesting to attempt to explain and understand the differences in each group in relation to their diverse cultural backgrounds.

HOW LIFE BEGINS IN MIDDLE CLASS U. S. A.

Not every American feels he should marry. Not every American who marries wants to have children. Still, most Americans think marriage is incomplete without at least one child. Some fathers would like to have a son to carry on the family name or business. Some mothers would like to have a daughter to help with household tasks. But for many Americans, having a child means a chance to watch and to help a very special person develop. It is a chance to give this new individual more and better opportunities than either of the parents had while they were growing up.

Do you want to get married? Why?

Do you want to have children? Why?

It is a rare occasion today when a baby is born at home. Usually, as soon as the expectant mother realizes she is about to give birth, arrangements are made to take her to the hospital. There she gives birth lying on her back with whatever medical assistance is necessary. The trip to the hospital is an amazing experience for many. An inexperienced mother-to-be might panic and hasten to the hospital, only to return home because of a false alarm. Others are known to have waited a bit too long, with the result that they gave birth in the family car or a taxi.

THAT'S PROGRESS!!!!?
By the way, where were you born?

In the delivery room, who is usually present besides the mother?

Upon delivery the baby is cleaned up. If the mother is awake, she is shown the results of her labor. Today, more and more hospitals are practicing circumcision of male babies in the delivery room immediately following birth. This practice may worry some Jewish parents since circumcision is a Jewish religious ceremony and, under normal conditions, must occur eight days after birth.

During the time of labor and birth, the expectant father may do one of several things. If his wife is taken to the hospital during his regular working hours, he may stay at work. If there are small children at home, he may remain at home to care for them. If his wife must go to the hospital at night or when he is not working, he may remain in the hospital waiting room until he is told whether he has a son or a daughter.

Do expectant fathers in the United States practice the couvade?

It is the father who usually informs relatives and friends of the event. It is customary for him to pass out cigars to the men and candy to the women at this time. Sometimes these cigars and candy are wrapped in blue paper if the baby is a boy or pink paper if the baby is a girl.

The couple may have chosen both a boy's name and a girl's name for their expected offspring. Once the baby is born, it is only a matter of filling out the birth certificate with his or her name. Registration of the birth certificate gives this small individual legal status in the community. Later, the baby may be named in a formal religious ceremony, which serves to introduce him to his religious community.

Does your name have any special significance? How about your friends' names?

Can a person's name tell us anything about how other people feel about him or her?

Little babies are cared for by their mothers. If the mother is absent, then a mother substitute is found. Americans do not think it is natural or desirable for babies to cry a great deal. If a baby is crying, the mother will respond quickly with food, dry diapers, or affection.

Only about two out of every five babies are breast fed, and then only for a relatively short length of time. Many mothers feed their babies on demand. Some mothers are surprised that demand feeding often begins to occur at regular intervals. Foods other than milk become part of the infant's diet almost immediately. Small amounts of specially prepared cereal may be mixed with milk and fed with a small spoon.

Many modern Americans try to introduce all changes gradually. When it is felt that a baby is ready to learn to drink from a cup or glass, a cup with a flattened spout may be purchased to help make learning easier. Little by little the baby is expected to learn to feed himself and to eat solid foods.

Some mothers may begin to toilet train their infants as soon as they can sit alone. This early toilet training is most common among middle class Americans. Some psychologists believe this helps lead to rigid personality development later in life. Other parents will not begin this process until the youngster is beginning to walk and talk. Regardless, most parents seem to be more relaxed about these matters than they once were. Today few mothers are worried if a two or three year old still has occasional accidents.

Who toilet trains infants in the U. S.?

When were you toilet trained?

Babies are encouraged to talk by example. Sometimes an infant is helped to walk even before he can pull himself up to a standing position. This is not considered healthy if it is overdone. Some physicians claim that pre-walking exercise can harm the development of the child's legs. Physical activity is encouraged both by games and by large numbers of toys. A toddler is expected to be noisy and active.

The youngster is taken on short outings to encourage his social development. Yet Americans believe that too much social contact will tire and spoil him. They believe the infant should learn that he cannot expect to be with people all the time. He should learn that certain kinds of attention-seeking behavior are ignored by adults. The infant then comes to realize that people are willing to share their time only with people with whom they wish to associate. As he matures, he is also encouraged to share his toys and to recognize the property rights of others.

Do you think Americans are overly conscious about social development? Why?

As the middle class youngster grows, his activities include dressing himself and picking up his own things. He progressively spends more of his time with his peers and less time with his parents, especially his mother. The area in which he is allowed to play expands. Watching television either in groups or alone may occupy youngsters for suprisingly long periods of uninterrupted time.

How do Americans begin to teach their infants to be self-reliant and independent, or do they?

How do they begin to teach them the best ways to have friends and companionship?

How must the infant act if he wants to be included in the group?

How is even the infant made a part of the mass culture?

How does the infant influence the family?

When do you think infancy ends?

During these early years the child identifies very closely with his parents or *siblings*. The child is taught to accept authority and has not learned to question it. By five he usually recognizes the authority of the parents. In turn his parents determine much of what he is exposed to in the environment. In this sense, the adult keeps the child in a controlled environment. This controlled environment expands under the guidance of the adult world without conflict until adolescence.

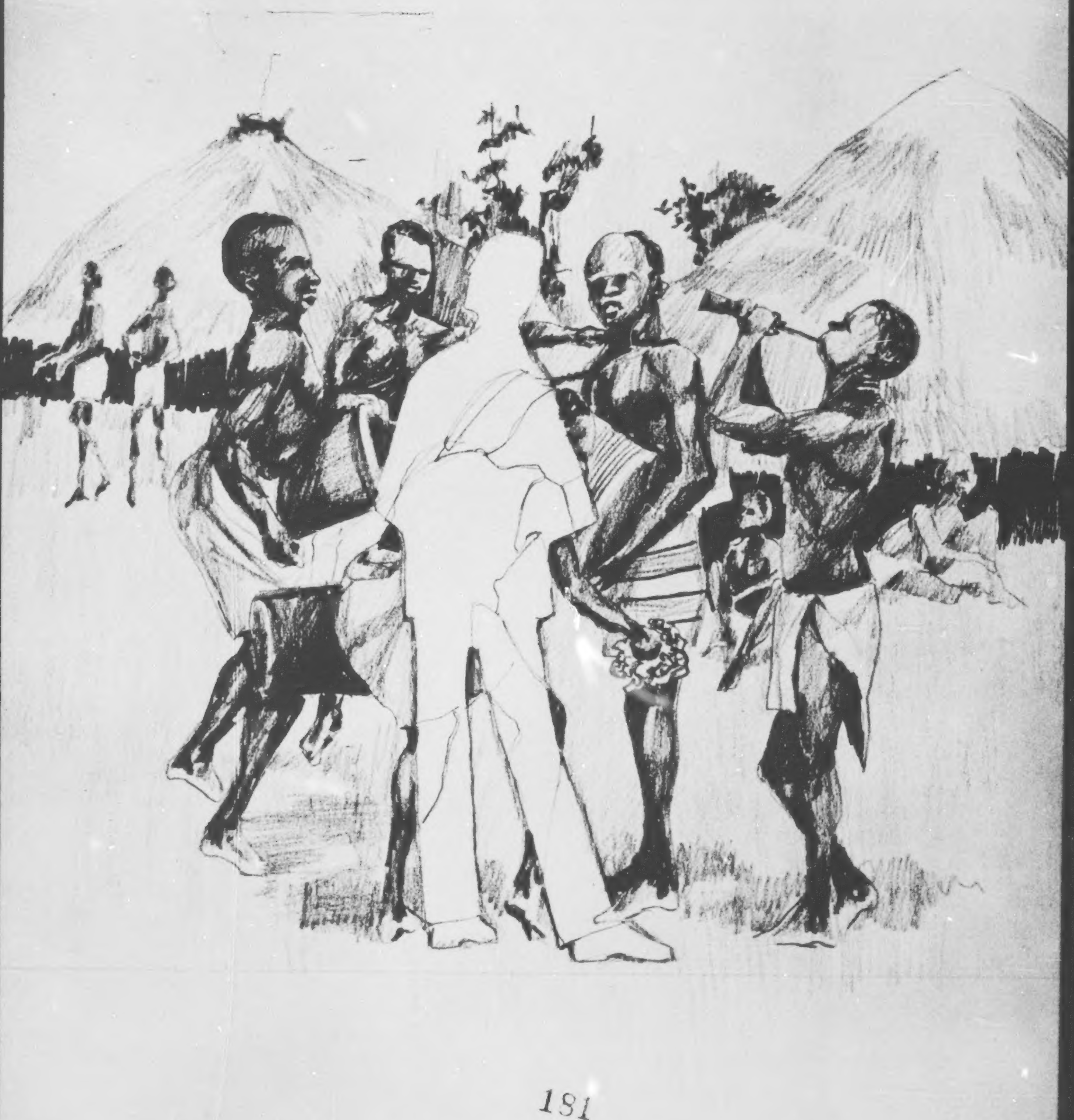
Some sociologists refer to this as a *period of compression*. Even when the child enters school at five or six, compression continues until it is replaced by *decompression*. We shall discuss this further at the appropriate time.

But now we shall leave the American middle class child and investigate life's beginning in other areas. Our next stop takes us to Africa to the Tiv culture.

HOW LIFE BEGINS AMONG THE TIV

Although American culture is complex, much of what has been said about it is understandable because we are so close to American middle class culture. But Tiv culture might be quite a shock to you. It may seem like fiction. It might seem so strange to you that you may not even understand it completely.

In order to get a better feeling for it, let us project ourselves into the situation. In other words, we shall become Tivs. As we study the Tiv, we must stop quite frequently and imagine how it might *feel* to experience their culture. Even if we close our eyes for a moment to help us think, let us make an effort to project successfully.



Pregnancy. For the Tiv, there is prestige in having a large family. As soon as a woman realizes she is going to have a child, the fact is announced in her natal compound. This is done by preparing a feast there. After many chickens and a goat have been killed, cooked, and eaten, the husband and his wife return home to his compound.

The Tiv believe that a woman and her unborn child may be troubled by *akombo* during pregnancy and birth. Should something go wrong, a diviner is called to set things right. When a woman begins to feel the pains of childbirth, her husband consults a diviner to find out which *akombo* is causing the pain. An elder who is master of a large number of *akombo* is called. He performs a ritual that frees the woman from the influence of the *akombo*. And now she is ready to give birth.

Birth. A woman usually returns to her own natal compound only to deliver her first child. Should she be unable to go home, her mother will try to be present in the husband's compound. Wherever the expectant mother is, she is assisted by several women from the village. An old woman is the midwife. If she is in her husband's compound, her mother-in-law and her co-wives will also assist.

Who is present at the time of birth in other cultures? Do you know what their relationships with the mother might be?

The child is delivered in a hut. Men are usually not present. The expectant mother reclines in a chair and the midwife sits on a stool in front of her. The newborn baby is placed on leaves that have been placed on the floor. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter. She bathes the baby in warm water, oils its head, and lays it beside its reclining mother. A small boy who has not reached puberty buries the afterbirth.

NOTE: There is apparently no differential treatment of the afterbirth of boys and girls among the Tiv.

Immediately after birth several ceremonies are performed. If it is the first child, the maternal kinsmen are required to perform the ceremonies. When future children are born, it will be the responsibility of the paternal kin. The women who were present at the birth may be required to cleanse themselves formally from the blood of birth.

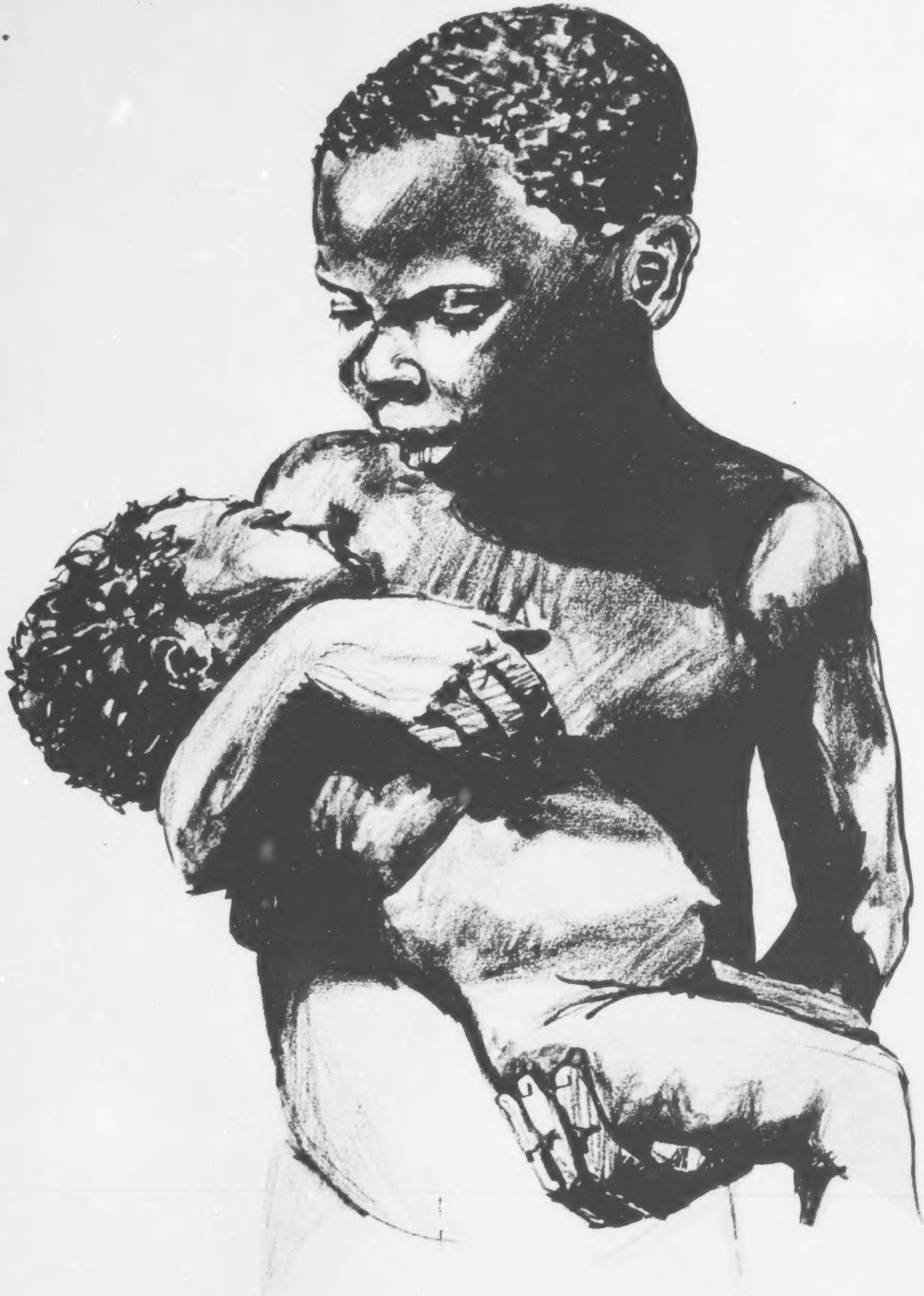
An infant is usually given a name within 24 hours after its birth. This name is given to the baby either by the midwife or by the infant's mother. It may recall something that happened during the delivery, or it may be the name of a friend. This is not important, for the infant will not be known by this name but by the name given at a later time by the father.

Who names the baby in the U. S. A.?

Infancy. An infant is cared for by its mother until it can sit alone without falling. At this time, it is handed over to an older sibling or some other child who becomes its nurse. It is customary for the nurse to be of the same sex as the infant, but this is not always the case. Usually a life-long friendship results from the daily association of the two.

While the infant's mother works in the fields, the infant begins to learn about the Tiv way of life from his nurse. First he is taught to be silent on command. This is done by gently holding the baby's nostrils closed. The crying infant must gasp for air, which momentarily stops his crying.

Weaning begins when a youngster is between



the ages of two and three. All this time the nurse has taken the little one to its mother whenever it was to be fed at the breast. Now the nurse sees to it that his charge is kept away from his mother for longer and longer periods of time. By this time adult foods have become a regular part of the youngster's diet. In this fashion the nurse carries out the weaning process. It is the nurse who also has the job of toilet training the young child.

Who toilet trains infants among the Tiv?

By five or six, the Tiv child is given responsibilities for which his American middle class counterpart is not even vaguely considered. Suddenly the child who was cared for by a nurse becomes a child nurse himself, and the cycle continues.

NOTE: Sometimes a little nurse is unhappy about his or her responsibility at first, especially if he must leave his own compound to take care of the baby. But apparently this unhappiness does not usually last very long.

How would you like to be a child nurse in Tivland? What are some of the problems you think you might have?

HOW LIFE BEGINS AMONG THE BALKAN PEASANTS

Almost everyone wants to have children in Serbia. When the young wife realizes she is pregnant, the immediate family rejoices. If her baby is a boy, she and her husband will be especially happy. Now they know there will be someone to carry on the family tradition.

Pregnancy. Peasant villagers do not discuss the fact that a woman is pregnant. She carries on her normal work both at home and in the fields until just a few weeks before the baby is born. The only thing she is not allowed to do is participate in certain religious activities. This is because the Serbian peasants think a pregnant woman is ritually unclean. She must leave the house if a priest comes to bless the water for making the *salva* cakes.

Why do Serbian peasants want to have a male child? Refer to the section on their culture background.

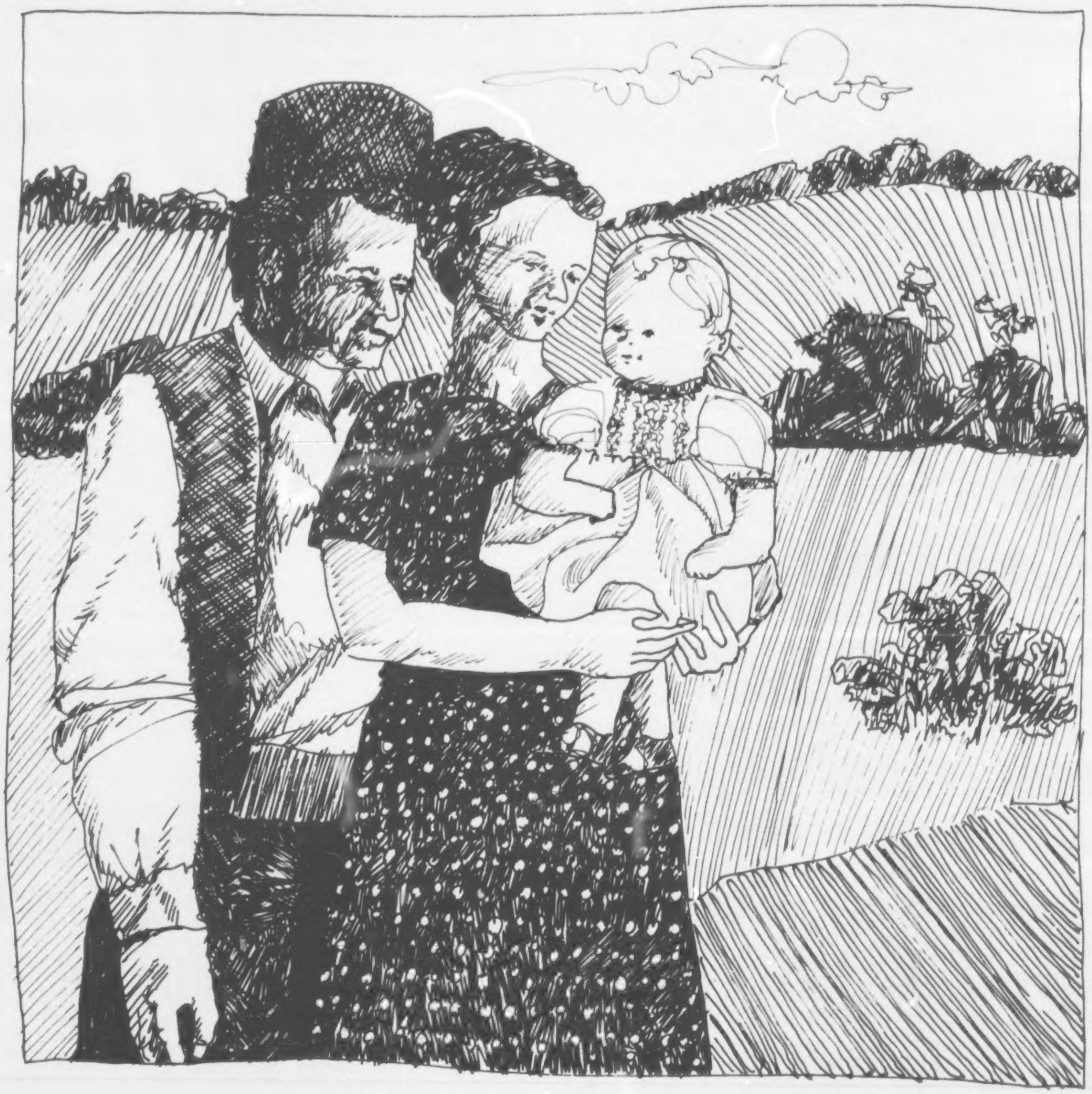
Birth. When labor begins, a *babica* is called to help with the delivery. *Babicas* are old women in the village who have practical experience but no formal training in assisting during the birth of a child. Birth occurs while the mother remains in a squatting position. The *babica* supports her during the actual birth.

What is the general term for a woman who usually has no formal training but regularly assists in childbirth?

Several days after an infant is born, the father registers the birth at the village council and with the priest. The priest gives the infant a temporary name and some blessed water for washing him. The infant will be bathed with this water for 40 days or until he is christened.

Usually a baby is christened within a week or ten days after birth. It is the infant's godfather who gives him his name. The ceremony is performed in the *rectory*. The infant's grandparents, godfather, and father attend. The baby receives a special shirt from his godfather, and the godfather is given a pair of knitted socks and a shirt in return.

In the rectory, the father, priest, and godfather walk around the baby three times. The crucifix is touched to the infant and the sign of the cross is made. Finally, the godfather spits over his godchild to get rid of the devil. After this ritual is completed, they return to the baby's home where he is displayed for all to see. The



people who come leave good wishes and gifts of money. The new father provides drinks for all.

Infancy. For approximately the first three months, the infant is swaddled. The villagers believe this will make the baby's legs grow straight. But even after swaddling ends, the baby spends most of his first year bundled in a cradle.

Since the baby's mother often has to work in the fields, she may take him with her, or she may leave him in the care of his grandparents. Regardless, a mother usually nurses her baby until he is 12 or 14 months old. Weaning is not abrupt and toilet training is a casual affair.

Can you list some of the other reasons why certain people swaddle their infants?

Is infancy a period of gradual change for the Serbian youngster?

HOW LIFE BEGINS AMONG THE CHINESE

Chinese men and women want to be sure they will have sons who will grow up and carry on the family. Maybe that is why when a woman is pregnant, people say she has "happiness in her body."

Pregnancy and birth. Shortly before the baby is to arrive, the father goes to the temple of the mother earth goddess. From the altar he takes a lighted incense burner and carries it home to the room where his wife is waiting to have her baby. When the midwife comes, all the men, unmarried girls, and children are sent to another part of the house. Sometimes neighboring women are asked to come and help with the delivery.

After the baby is born, it is fed a few drops of water to "open its mouth." Then it is wrapped in cloth and permitted to nurse at its mother's breast. Meanwhile, the mother is given some soup, usually made of millet, and a little brown sugar to eat.

The third day after a baby is born is very important. The baby's mother tries to get up for the first time, but her mother-in-law tells her to stay in bed and rest. Offerings of thanks for the new life are made by the family. This is also the day when the infant is bathed and dressed for the first time. He is then presented to his grandparents who give him his small or baby name.

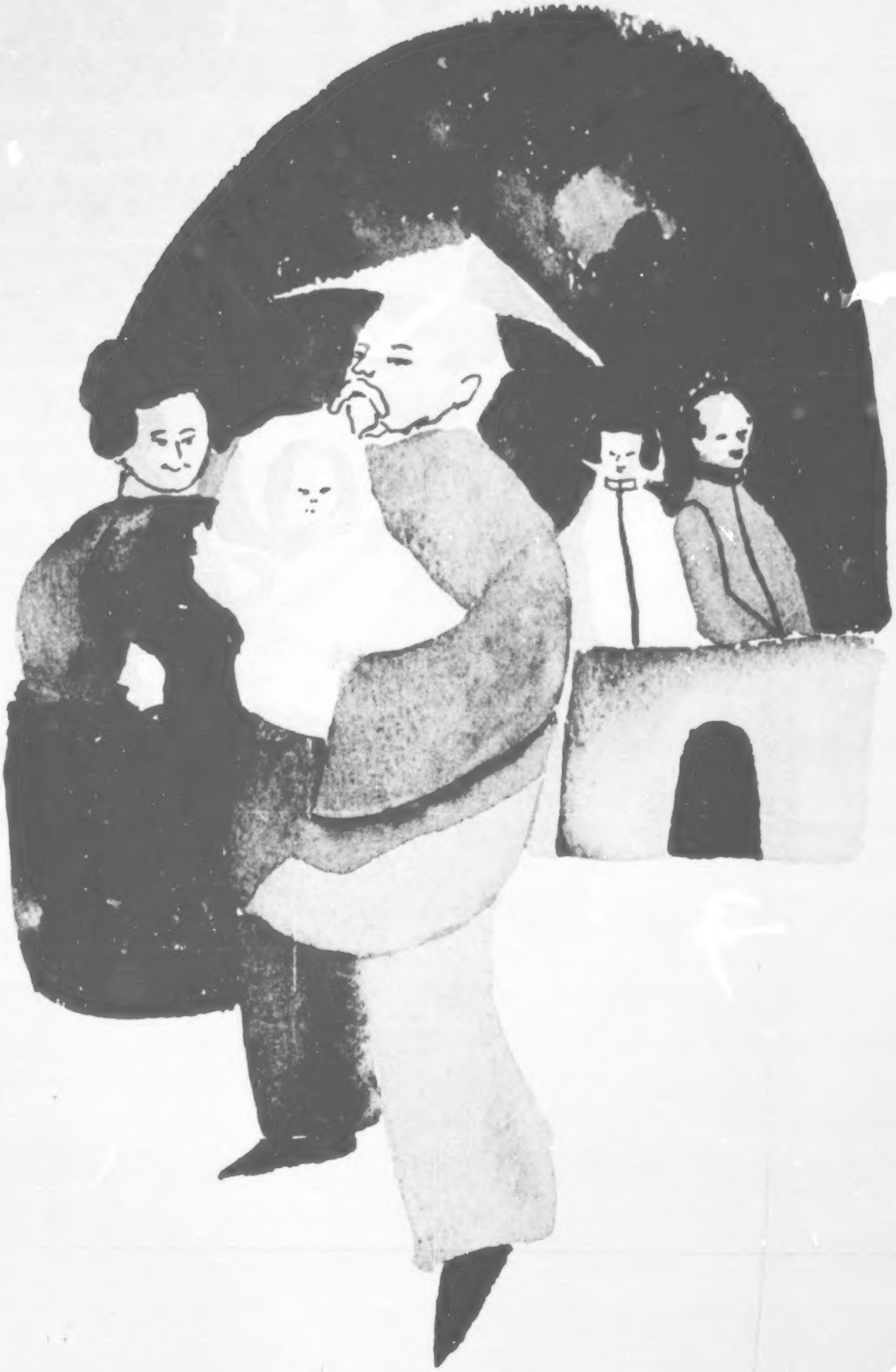
People bring eggs and noodles for the mother to eat. These represent peace and long life. It is said that a mother should eat a hundred eggs! Gifts are brought in a basket covered with a red cloth. When each woman leaves her present, she looks at the baby and congratulates the mother.

Infancy. A Chinese infant is counted as being a year old at birth. Each New Year's Day, regardless of when the baby was actually born, another year is added. At the time of a boy's second birthday, a tray of objects is placed in front of him and he is encouraged to take any one of them. The tray has many things on it. By his choice the family believes it knows what his future will be. Should he grab a coin, he will be rich. Should he take the pen, he will become a scholar. Usually some feminine object will be on the tray. If the baby reaches for it everybody is disturbed, for it means the infant will waste his life in foolish pursuits.

NOTE: In strongly *patrilineal* and *patrilocal* cultures, there usually are certain lifelong economic and social obligations between the families of the married couple. Marriage is an affair between two families and not just two individuals.

If the culture has been matrilocal and matrilineal, who do you think might have been the giver and who the receiver of gifts? The husband's family gives and the wife's family receives.

Is cultural birth and biological birth always the same?



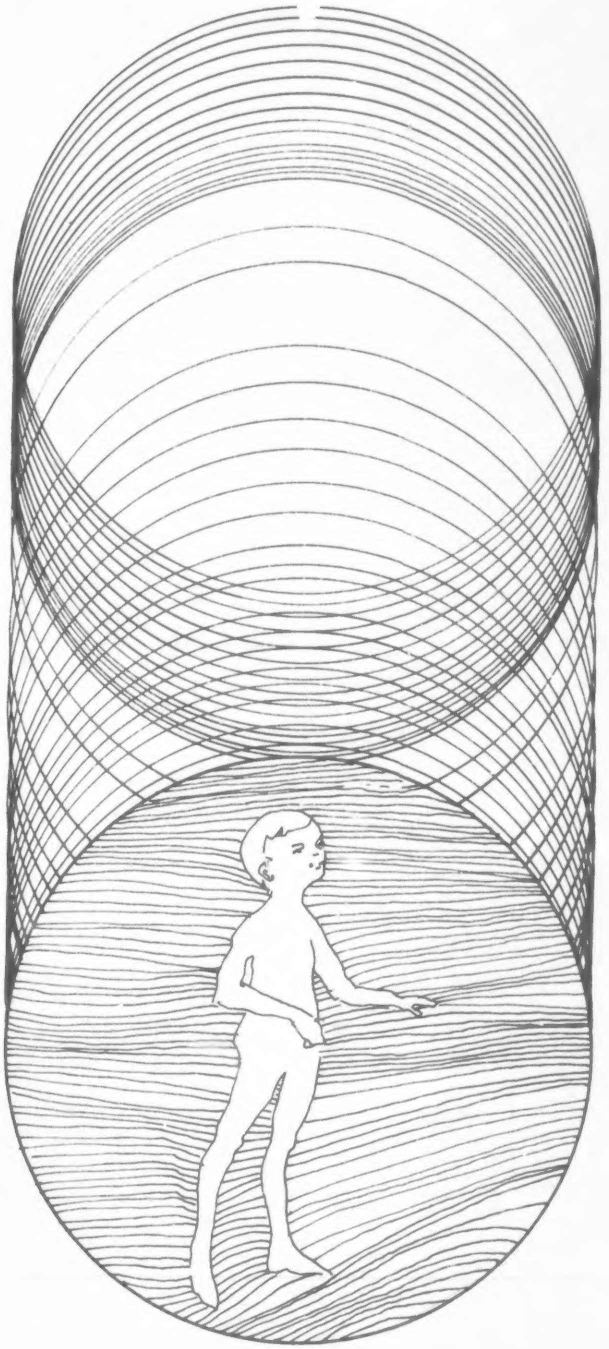
Ideally, a mother cares for her baby constantly. This usually is possible in a large and prosperous family. When the family is poor, however, she normally has many other responsibilities in addition to infant care. If she has to work in the fields, the baby may be fastened onto her back in a way which leaves her hands and arms free. Or the infant may be left in the care of another adult female or an older child. In some areas of China, if the mother is not available to suckle her own infant, some other woman in the household who is still nursing a baby may suckle him in addition to her own.

Solid foods become part of the baby's diet when he is about seven months old. These may be fed to him by any member of the family. Still, his mother continues to nurse him until he is two or three years old, or until she is pregnant again. Not until weaning is completed does anyone think of the youngster as anything but a baby to be cared for by his mother or other females in the household.

If you had been raised in China, how might your attitudes toward marriage and children be different?

5

childhood



> *I remember my youth and the feeling that will never come back anymore—the feeling that I could last forever, outlast the sea, the earth, and all men.*
>
> Joseph Conrad

After studying the beginning of life and infancy in four cultures, we are ready to embark on our second trip. Beginning with the American middle class child, we shall study the stage of childhood in the selected cultures. Childhood has been defined as "the relatively long period of growth and development after infancy during which a person learns the ways of his culture."

The transition from infancy to childhood may take place gradually. The mother may slowly stop giving her offspring as much attention as before. At the same time, she may encourage him to do more and more for himself.

Among the ancient Incas of Peru, this transition was marked by a formal rite of passage. Among the Polynesian Palauans, the transition to childhood occurs on the day the mother refuses to carry her youngster. There is no formal ceremony, but everyone who sees the child kicking and screaming in anger as he lies on the pathway knows what has happened.

In almost every culture the arrival of a new sibling may make the transition to childhood abrupt and more difficult. The child who was the baby of the family is now no longer pampered. He often becomes the responsibility of older children. This is usually the case among the Hopi. But regardless of who takes on his routine care, the youngster must learn that new ways of behaving are now expected of him.

A person begins to learn the ways of his culture from the time he is born. This process is called *enculturation.* It is never complete, but childhood is the only time when it is the most important task in a person's life.

During childhood, the child usually remains relatively dependent on adults. In simpler cultures where people do not need as much specialized and technical training, childhood and dependence end at about the same time as the body matures. In complex urban industrial cultures like our own, dependence on adults may continue long after biological maturity. This prolonged period of dependence after biological maturity has been given a special name: *adolescence.*

Enculturation takes place in many ways. In simple cultures, technical skills are often learned informally by observation and imitation. Little girls learn the ways of women from their mothers. Little boys learn the ways of men by copying their fathers. But even some simple cultures have formal periods of instruction. There are schools where boys and girls usually are taught separately some of the special skills they will need as adults. Often boys and girls live together in a separate building away from their parents while they are going to school.

NOTE: Even in African cultures where children of the same age grade go off and build their own villages, they usually have an adult sponsor to whom they can turn in time of need.

Does adolescence occur in all cultures? What causes adolescence? What is the difference between puberty and adolescence?

Technical skills are not the only things a child must learn as he grows up. Grandparents and other older people often teach children the traditional stories and the history of their family and culture. Grandparents are often responsible for a child's religious and moral instruction as well.

A Hypothetical Problem

As you study this stage of the life cycle, maybe we can begin to evaluate the following *hypothesis*:

Given: 1: During infancy the human being is most dependent upon adults. 2. The infant's major task is to remain alive. 3. The infant is in a *very basic* period of physical and mental development. 4. Learning about one's culture during infancy is not a primary task.

Problems: 1. If the stage of childhood is the first major period of enculturation, then greater differences among the children of the four cultures will be seen than are noticeable during infancy. 2. If childhood is not the first primary stage for enculturation and infancy is, then there exist greater similarities among children of diverse cultures during infancy than during childhood.

Any part of the above problems may or may not be true. Based upon your previous studies and the following studies of the four cultures, you will be able to analyze, evaluate, and conclude whether or not the problems are correct. At this point we shall begin our investigation of the second stage in the life cycle–childhood.

CHILDHOOD IN MIDDLE CLASS AMERICA

The scene is Midclass, a suburb of Metropolis City, U. S. A. The date is September 4, this year. Last night five-year old Tony lay in bed thinking about today. He could not determine whether he should be happy or sad. His feelings were mixed. He did not know what school would be like, but he knew something different was going to happen.

Today Tony was brought to school by his mother. This marked the beginning of his formal education. His life cycle had taken him from birth through infancy to childhood.

The transition to childhood went almost unrealized. Tony had learned to communicate, recognize authority, and understand to some extent his role within his *environment*. Now his horizons would be widened. He would have new roles. He would indeed be at the threshold of childhood.

Formal education is one of the most important elements in the child's life. Once he begins school, he will spend the major part of his waking hours in school, on the way to school, and performing tasks required by the school (*e.g.*, homework).

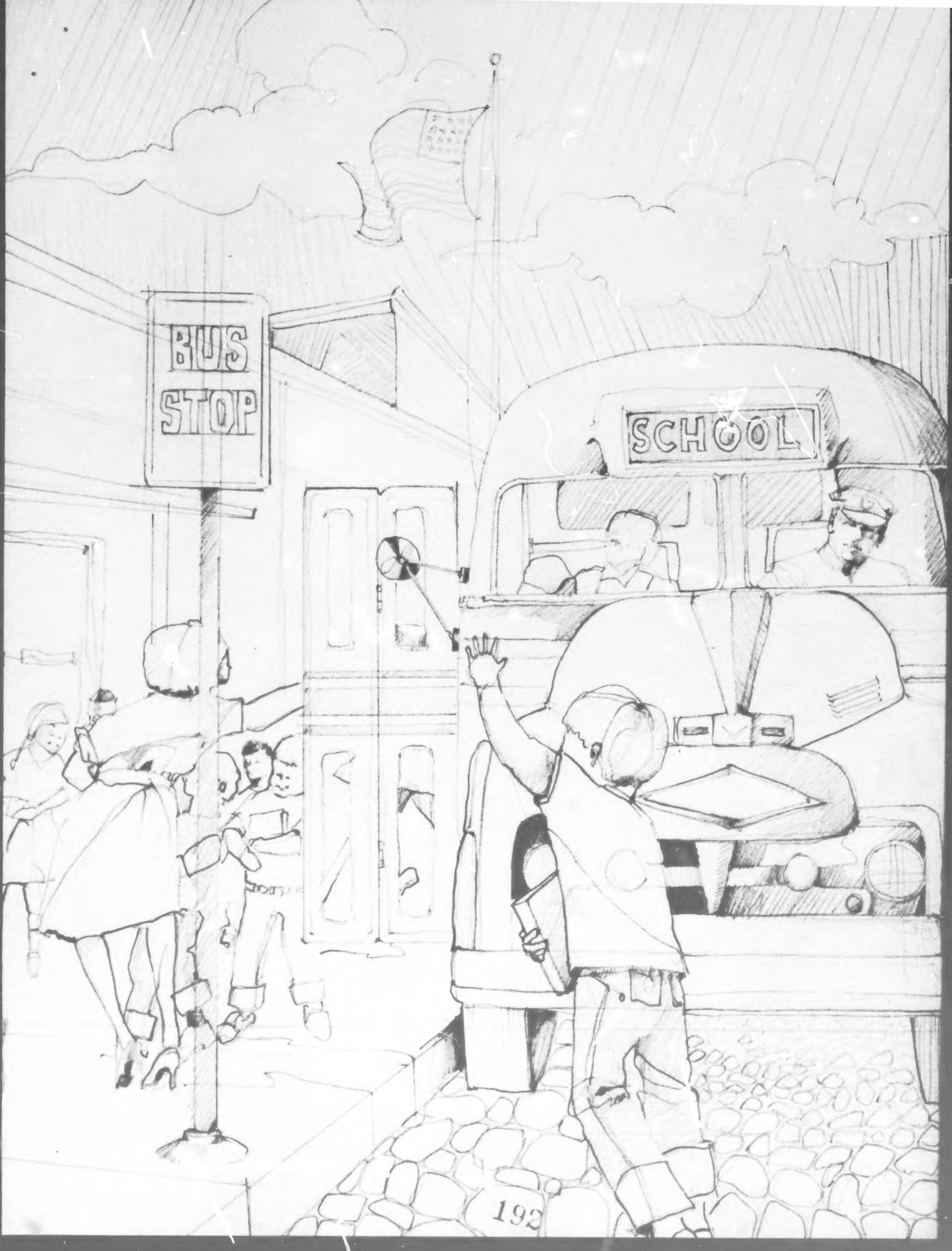
The school has taken on more and more responsibilities. At school the child learns to cooperate and compete with children his own age. The school demands that he learn rules and regulations and practice them. The school rewards and punishes the child based upon his performance. School teachers will generally agree that their role is to help the child develop physically, mentally, emotionally, and socially. The days of teaching only the three R's are gone in middle class suburbian schools.

Beginning school does not necessarily mark a formal entrance into childhood. In fact, there is no formal, clear cut, definite event which determines that a child has entered this stage of life. But since beginning school is a vastly new experience which plays a major role in development, it seems convenient and logical to begin childhood at this point.

Most states require that youngsters start first grade when they are six years old. But for some children this is not their first school experience. An increasing number of children go to nursery schools or kindergarten classes before they are six. Since most schools will not accept children until they are toilet trained, few youngsters start attending nursery school before they are three or four years old.

When children start school, they must face a whole series of new experiences. Both work and play are more organized than before. Often for the first time in their lives they are confined to one room for most of the day. They must sit for long periods of time whether they want to or not. They must wait their turn to speak and must do what their teacher tells them to do.

Is sitting in front of a TV for a long time the same as sitting in a classroom for a long time?


BUS
STOP
SCHOOL

Sometimes these new demands upset young children for a length of time. They may wet their pants even though they have not had any accidents for several months or even a year before. Some may even develop a variety of physical problems that will keep them out of school for a while. But usually it is not too long until they begin to adjust and take advantage of the new opportunities which school provides.

When school is over in the afternoon, most children return home to play with their friends as they did before they started to go to school. But it is not long before even these informal play groups are left for more organized activities. Scout programs, church choirs, baseball teams, or dancing classes are some of the types of activities children may join.

Many middle class parents seem to stress organized activities. Almost all these activities are carried out in groups made up of children of about the same age and usually of the same sex. Even summer vacations may become filled with such organized activities as camps, church school, trips and sports. On occasion the parental stress has led to nervous strain and discomfort for the child.

At home children are recognized as individuals with certain rights and obligations, usually defined by the parent. As they grow older, children are usually granted more privileges, but they are expected also to share in more of the family responsibilities. If their parents can afford it, the children are given a room of their own. Even when siblings of the same sex must share a room, they are still given separate places to keep their things and have a bed of their own.

During this period of life, children are well on the way to learning behavior that is appropriate for their own sex. They are also ready to learn to carry out a growing number of responsibilities. A foundation has been laid for gaining the skills and attitudes that will be necessary for successful participation in the American adult world. When we return to Midclass, U. S. A., we shall examine the question: Does this foundation of skills and attitudes flow directly into successful participation in the adult world or is there an interruption?

But at present we shall journey to Africa and examine the Tiv during childhood. Furthermore, we shall be able to begin evaluating the hypothesis stated earlier. The hypothesis stated that during childhood there are greater differences which become more apparent among persons of different cultures than during infancy.

CHILDHOOD AMONG THE TIV

Tiv youngsters are given important responsibilities when they are quite young. These children may become nurses by the time they are *five!* Boys and girls learn the techniques they will need as adults from the parent of their own sex. They help their parents in the fields and at home. The boys learn from their fathers how to use arrows and bows. They learn to plant, hoe, and harvest in the same way. Little girls may help gather firewood and draw water from a well. They watch their mother pound corn, prepare a meal, and work in the fields.

NOTE: Childhood play helps to prepare children for adult life. You might discuss whether or not you think childhood play in the U. S. also helps prepare the youngster for adult life.

There are no formal schools in Tivland. In the evenings after it gets dark, the older people sit together around a fire with the children. While they spin, the older people play games and tell stories. The children listen and learn about the mythology and customs of their people and develop pride in their cultural heritage.

From whom do the Tiv learn their technical skills? From whom do they learn their mythology? Are these people in the same stage of the life cycle? Which stage or stages of the life cycle do you think they are in? Can you be sure or is it only a guess?

Some time between the ages of six and twelve, Tiv boys and girls have their ears pierced. All children are eager to have this done. If parents think the child is too young, the child is told jokingly that his ears will break off. When permission is finally given, the youngster asks someone in the compound to perform the task. As soon as the sores heal, the child runs around teasing all the children who have not yet had their ears pierced.

Cicatrization is another important event in the life of a Tiv boy or girl. This is the permanent scarring of the body for the purpose of beautification. Among the Tiv the desired pattern is drawn on the body with charcoal. These lines are then cut with a razor and more charcoal is rubbed into the cuts. This causes them to stand out. These cuts are then treated with a variety of medications until they heal. Children begin by having scars placed in their faces. As they grow older, they gradually add more lines to the face and then place them on the neck, shoulders, back and arms.

Can you think of any similar practices in the U. S.?

What do boys and girls do to their bodies in the U. S. to make themselves more attractive or to call attention to themselves?

NOTE: Compare hair styling and dying, ear piercing, tatooing, the use of lipstick, eye makeup, etc. to cicatrization.

Using a nail to cut the designs has become a fad among the young people. The scars from nail scratches are not raised likes the ones resulting from razor cuts. The young boys think that the girls like these flat designs better than the raised ones. This has produced a conflict between the older people and the youth in Tivland, and now the raised scars have become a symbol of the past generation.

Girls are cicatrized around puberty. The Tiv believe that a woman's stomach will become fat and flabby "like the ugly foreign women" unless it is scarred. After a girl has her stomach scarred, she teases all the girls who have not as yet had it done. She also praises the boys who have had their faces scarred.

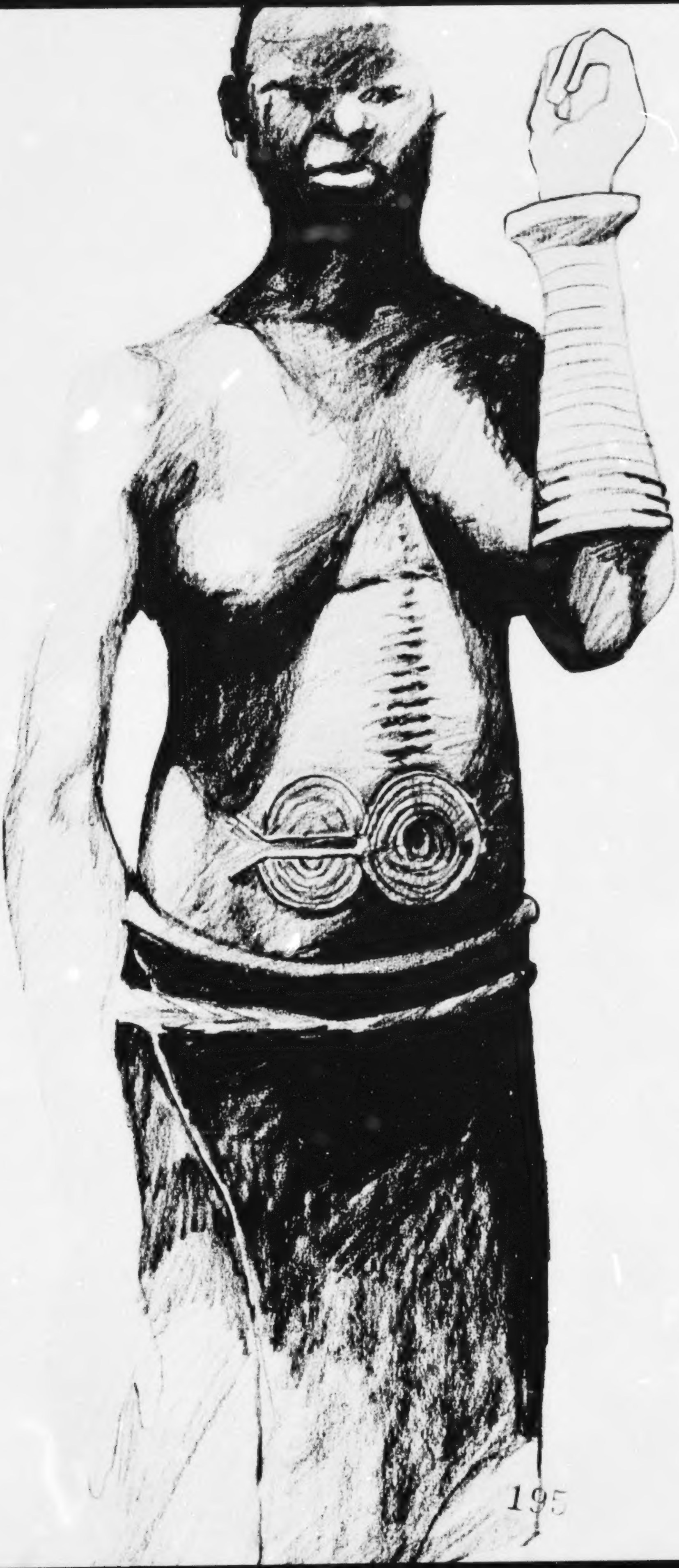
What is the importance of Tiv peer groups in seeing that certain practices are carried out?

Is there any similarity between the role peer groups play among the Tiv and among young Americans?

As the young people continue to mature, they are given more and more responsibility. The older boys hunt and take part in a variety of activities with the men. They also carry out many of the heavy agricultural tasks. Girls also take part in the agricultural work. They assist in the compound and are watched carefully by their mothers. Tiv girls usually reach puberty without having had any physical contact with boys. All these changes are accomplished gradually without any formal rites of passage and without a teenage problem period.

Age grades have been developing informally during a boy's childhood. The groups of small boys who played together each had an adult friend and sponsor. By the time a boy is between the ages of 18 and 20, these little groups of boys have joined to become a single age grade. (There are no formal age grades for girls among the Tiv.) The sponsors of the smaller groups now act as a group of advisors for the age grade as a whole. There is no formal initiation to mark the establishment of the new age grade. But throughout a man's lifetime he knows that he can count on his age mates in time of need.

During our study of childhood in middle



class America, the statement was made that American children were learning to take on responsibilities, and that a foundation had been laid for gaining skills to be used in the future. The question we might raise here is whether or not childhood is a period of preparation for adulthood in all cultures.

It appears that childhood for the Tiv and Americans is a preparatory stage for adulthood. If this occurs in all cultures, then we may make a general statement, such as: The life cycle stage of childhood is a preparatory stage for adulthood.

However, we cannot make such a *generalization* based upon two *case studies*. Even four case studies would ordinarily seem insufficient. But if the generalization applies accurately to all four cultures, then we should give the problem some serious thinking. Our generalization *might* be true because our selected case studies take in cultures which span other cultures. For example, aspects of childhood in middle class America are similar in most highly industrialized cultures like the British, French, German and Canadian.

In any case, as we move on to the Balkan peasant, we have added to our list another question or problem for future investigation.

CHILDHOOD AMONG THE BALKAN PEASANTS

There is no formal transfer from infancy to childhood in the life cycle of the Balkan peasant. There is not even an equivalent for the word "child." If we ask a Serbian peasant to describe the difference between infancy and childhood, he might reply, "When the infant is no longer a *beba* (baby), he is an *adete* (adult)." Such a response is short and to the point, but we had better ask for a little more detail. The Balkan peasant would explain, "When he can crawl and say a few words which he can understand, then he is no longer a *beba*, but an *adete*."

As he crawls about, his older siblings or other relatives take care of him so he does not get hurt. He is cared for by older children until he starts school at about the age of seven. Throughout this period he is treated affectionately and is given attention. But he is expected to be obedient and respectful. A child is not supposed to take part in adult activities. It is not even customary for children and adults to eat together.

When an *adete* reaches the age of about five, he is considered old enough to help with small chores. He may pick berries, fruits, and vegetables; gather wood for the fire; and watch the pigs or sheep. Now he begins to look forward to the time when he can start going to school.

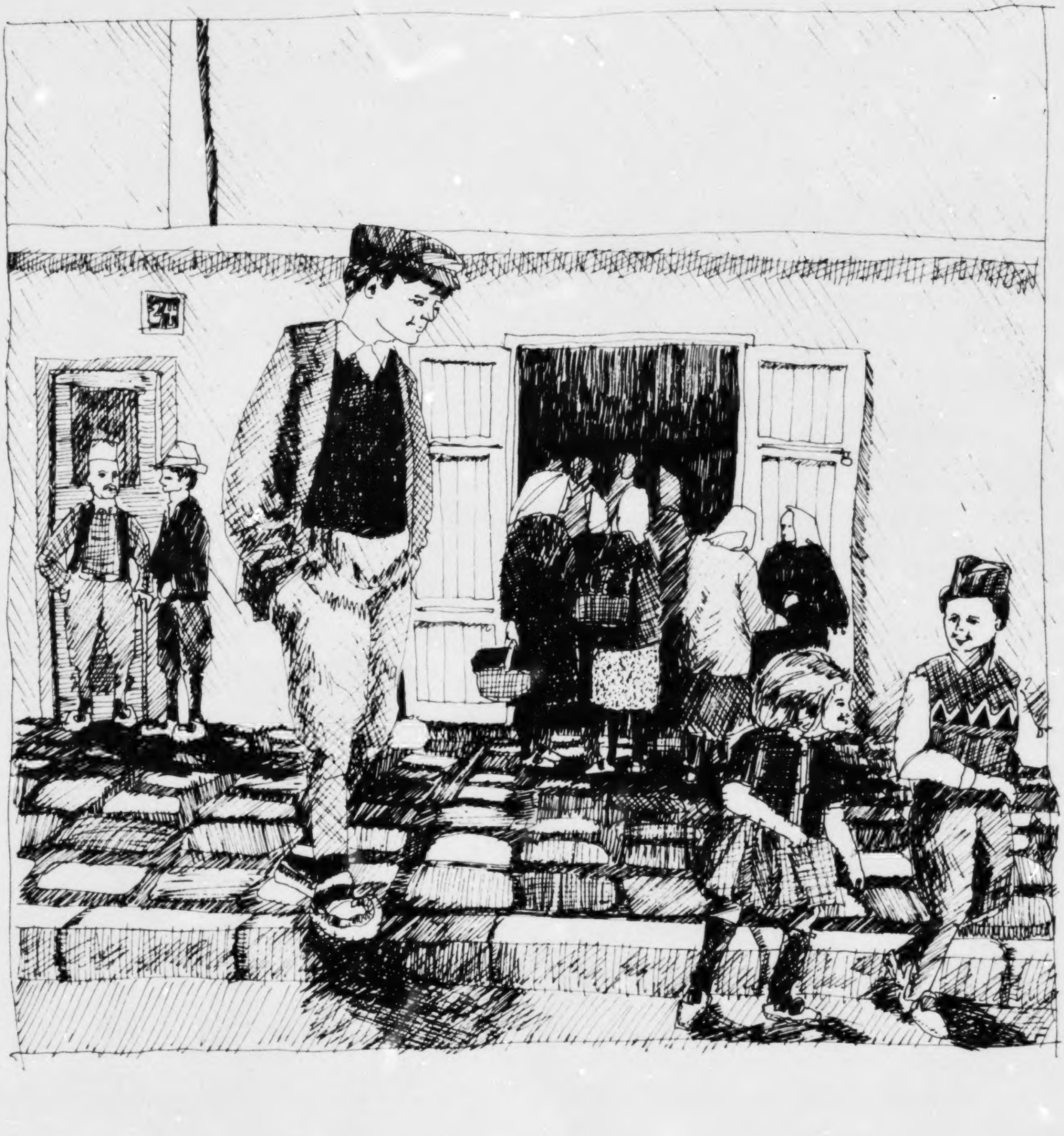
Village children usually start school when they are seven years old. They are very proud to be pupils and enjoy going to school. But going to school does not excuse them from their responsibilities at home. If a child loses his temper and shouts at his elders when he is reminded of his chores, such behavior is not tolerated. Children are punished, usually by getting their ears boxed or their noses twisted.

How do American mothers see to it that a creeping youngster does not get hurt?

Did you have to do chores when you were five years old? Do you have to do chores now?

Children everywhere always seem to find at least some time to play. Serbian children are no exception. In the winter they play in the snow, make skis and sleds, and have snowball fights. In the summer they play tag, soccer, and other games which they have learned at school.

Boys and girls finish elementary school when they are about 15 years old. This is a very important time in their lives. Some will be able to continue their education in a high school if one is nearby. Others will become apprentices to craftsmen in the village. Still others may find jobs working for wages outside the village. But



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most of the youngsters will remain at home working on their parents' farms.

> Do you know until what age your community requires you to go to school? Why do you think you will probably go to school longer than most Serbian boys and girls?

This is a period of hard work and little fun. Both boys and girls are now too old for school but too young to take part in the village or community fairs and social dances. The boys help their fathers in the field. They learn to handle the livestock and go with the men to market. Sometimes boys rebel against their parents' authority during this period. When this happens, the boys are severely scolded for their behavior. During this same period girls start their *trousseau*, learn to cook, bake, and do many kinds of handicrafts.

When boys reach the age of 17 and girls the age of 16, they are considered young adults. They begin to dress in the best clothes their families can afford. At last they are old enough to participate in the dances and fairs held in their own and neighboring villages. These dances and fairs give the young people a chance to meet and associate with one another.

If a boy sees a girl he wants to meet, he usually asks a friend to act as go-between. Finally each one finds a person he or she would like to marry. But even after a boy and a girl decide they like each other, they never go together to social functions until they are formally engaged.

> Do Serbian boys and girls date? What is dating? Why do Americans date?

Most young couples do not have an opportunity to get to know each other very well before marriage. Their only chance to be together is almost always in the presence of other people. This is especially true if they come from different villages.

When the boy and girl decide they want to get married, they ask their parents for permission. If their parents approve, arrangements are begun.

> Why do you think Americans think it is so important to know someone well before they marry? What are some of the things that probably make this less important for the Serbian couple?

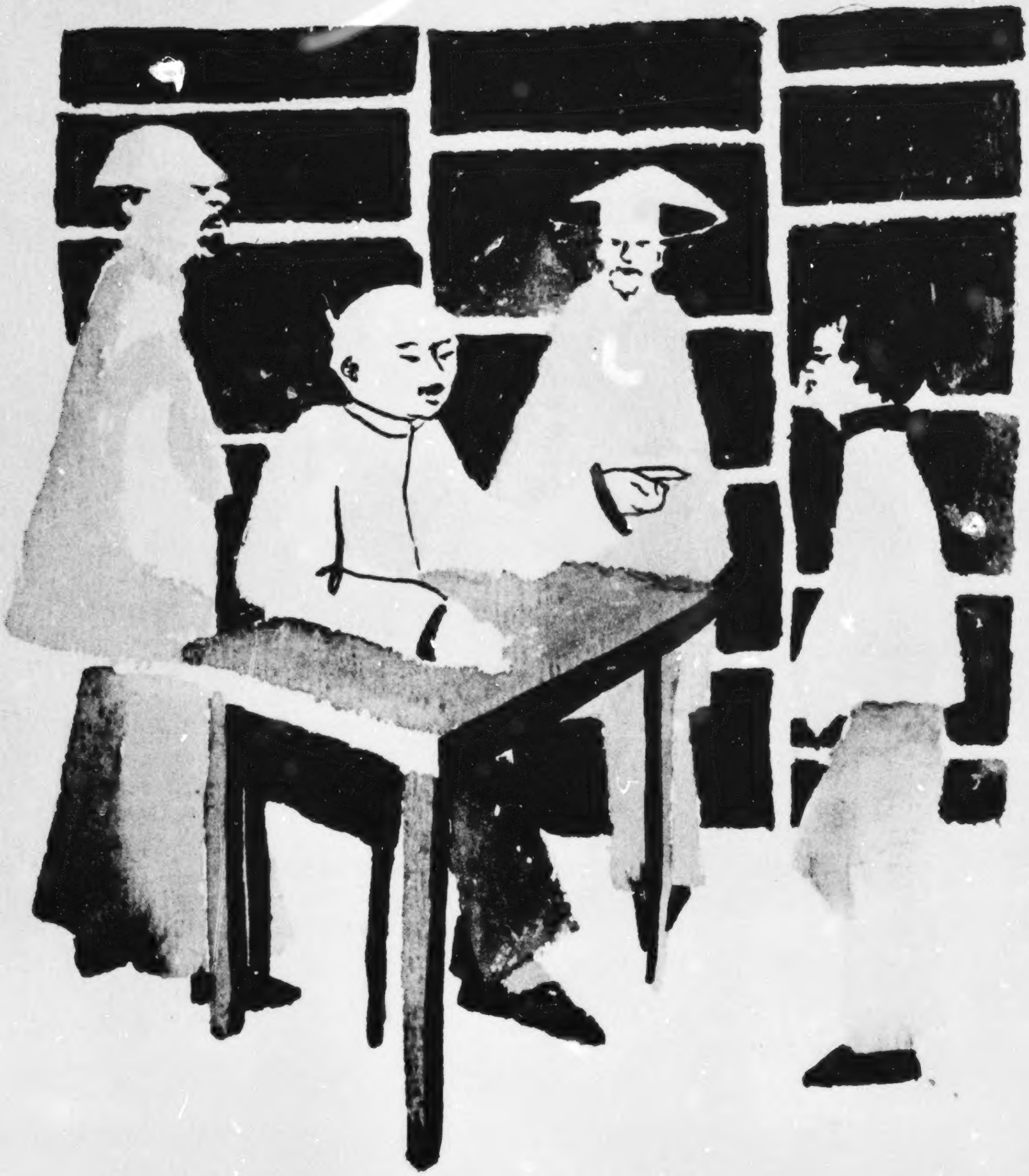
As we reach this place in our investigation, it is apparent that the life cycle stage of childhood is coming to an end and adulthood is about to emerge. But before studying childhood in China we should refer to the questions to which we have been seeking answers. Using our field notebooks we can make some comparisons and evaluations concerning the three cultures we have investigated in relation to the life cycle stages of infancy and childhood.

CHILDHOOD IN CHINA

The traditional Chinese family regard the child as a baby until weaning is completed. This usually occurs at two or three years of age. The arrival of a sibling or the child's sleeping away from his mother marks the high point of the transition to childhood.

When a sibling arrives, the child no longer can sleep next to his mother. In large wealthy households, a boy is sent to sleep with his father in the men's sleeping room. But in many families, all the family members sleep in one room on a single bed. In this case the child is made to sleep next to his father. Now the father sees to it that the child is dressed appropriately. Toilet training begins in earnest and discipline becomes more strict.

> NOTE: Although large extended families are the ideal, they probably never were the most frequently occuring type. Where funds and food are short, this large unit tends to break down through tension aris-



ing from food *allocation*. (Should a brother doing the same work, but having six children, receive the same total quantity of food as the elder brother with only two children?)

By six, little girls are able to care for younger siblings and clean grain. Only recently has it been considered desirable for a girl to go to school. In the past, girls from good homes were not supposed to be seen outside the house after they were about ten years old. Boys of the same age collect grass, gather firewood or tend animals. Boys may also start attending school, but many do not.

Boys and girls are allowed to play together freely only until they are about ten. After that they can play together only in groups where adults can see them. Once a girl reaches her teens, she is not given the chance to see or talk to boys alone. Even with her own brother she should be reserved and quiet.

Do you think Chinese teenage boys and girls are unhappy about not being allowed to associate with one another? Why?

Girls are disciplined by their mothers. Boys are punished by both parents until they are about ten. Discipline then becomes the father's responsibility, but he punishes his son in private only. At such times, younger children usually run in fright and older ones do not need to be told to leave. No child is permitted to tease another about a beating.

Should a father hit a boy over 15, he will be criticized by his fellow villagers and the members of both his and his wife's family. If an older boy remains a problem, a conference will be held by the senior members of the household to decide upon a course of action. After a son is married, his father must treat him as an adult regardless of the boy's age.

NOTE: Disciplinary problems are handled in private between the boy and his father. It is a very serious matter when a conference must be held. Usually the most senior members of the household hold a family discussion and shame the wrongdoer in an indirect discussion of the issues involved. Discuss why this is effective.

As the children grow, their parents begin to plan for their marriage. Boys and girls may be betrothed between the ages of seven and nine, or parents may decide to wait until they are 17 or even 20. But usually a girl is promised by the time she is 15 and a boy when he is not much older.

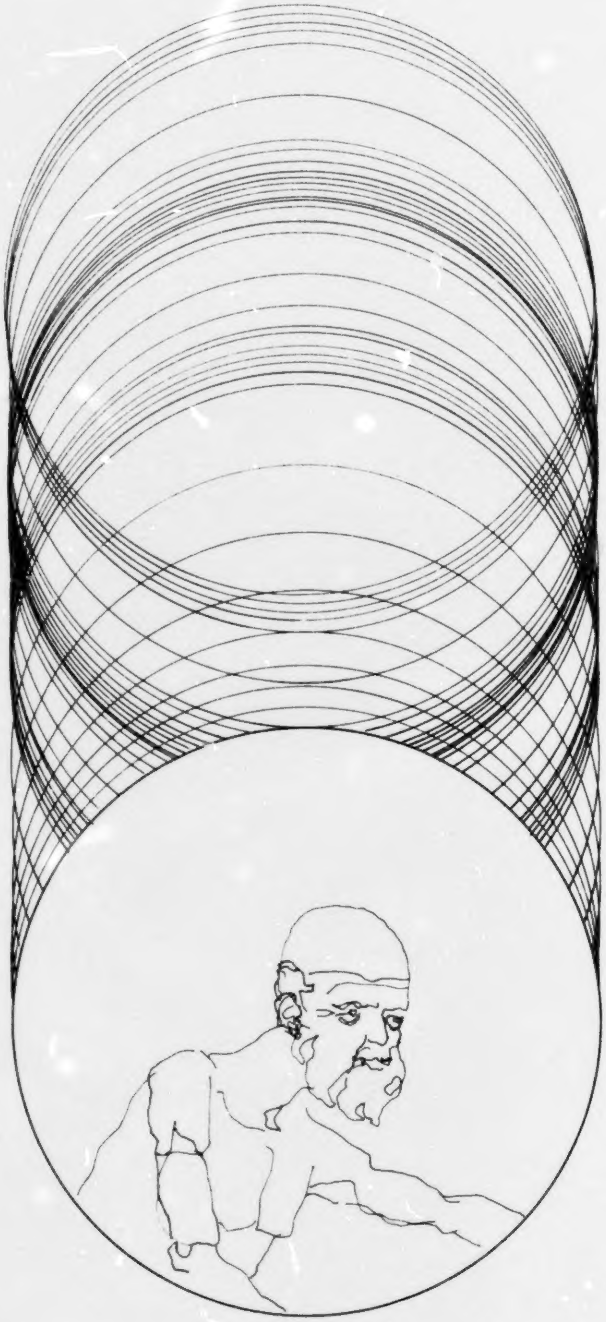
Frequently arrangements are made through a professional matchmaker. The period of betrothal varies. If the children are very young, it may last ten years. When a girl's family is poor, she may go to work in the home of her future husband almost immediately. She will live there doing a variety of chores until she reaches physical maturity and can take up her responsibilities as a wife. Once again, marriage seems to mark an end to childhood.

The study of adulthood among the Chinese and other cultures seems to be the next logical step in our study of the life cycle. But before returning to the field laboratories, you should go back to your field notebook and review what you have learned about the life cycle stages up to this point. Comparisons, evaluations, and conclusions can be drawn. Questions concerning the effect of culture on the life cycle might be tentatively answered. Hypotheses can be tested and new questions asked.

Following this period of scientific reflection, we shall return to the field laboratory for the final phase of our study.

6

adulthood and old age



To know how to grow old is the master work of wisdom, and one of the most difficult chapters in the great art of living.
Frederic Amiel

Before we return to the field laboratories, we shall brief ourselves on the final stages of the life cycle. Once again we find ourselves in a position similar to that of the anthropologist doing library research. Naturally, reading this overview is a far cry from actually doing library research, but it will shed some light on our topic and help quite a bit. So let's get down to work.

Transition to adulthood. In some cultures a person may move directly from childhood to adulthood by a rite of passage. This rite takes four days for a Chiricahua Apache girl, and occurs shortly after she menstruates for the first time. It lets everyone know that the girl is now ready for marriage. In many cultures, including the Chinese, marriage is the rite of passage to adulthood. Of course, if a person does not wed, he will still enter the stage of adulthood, although society may frown on his *marital status.* Some Jews, for example, pity the bachelor because a life without a wife and children is to them only half a life.

A direct transition from childhood to adulthood seems strange to Americans. This is because in America, and other modern industrial nations like Germany or France, individuals pass through a long period of transition known as adolescence. Adolescence occurs in these technologically advanced cultures because a very long period of training is needed before an individual has enough knowledge to become self-supporting and independent.

The adolescent period of transition usually begins at puberty and often continues long past biological maturity. Some young people fear the responsibilities of adulthood so much that they try to make adolescence last as long as possible. We shall discuss some of their strategies for evading adulthood in our examination of the American life cycle.

Recall your previous discussion of adolescence. Review the difference between puberty and adolescence.

Remember that adolescence is not a period found in all cultures and that it is the result of the prolonged period of dependence caused by the increased amount of time needed to learn the skills and knowledge necessary for economic self-support.

After a long period of growing, maturing, and learning the ways of his culture, *Homo sapiens* at last becomes an adult. Now he can marry, have children, and take part in a variety of other activities for the first time. In some cases he must also drop some of the activities which he enjoyed before this stage of life.

When a person first becomes an adult, he is usually young and vigorous. It is therefore his task to carry out most of the hard physical and mental labor necessary for existence. His working hours are long, but his opinions are often regarded as unimportant in decision-making.

Gradually, as he grows older, his opinions become more significant to others. He is required to do less of the kinds of work requiring large amounts of physical energy. More of his energies may now be spent in directing or supervising the work of younger people. This is equally true for both men and women, but is not necessarily true in all cases.

Discuss the gradual change that takes place in an individual's duties and responsibilities during adulthood.

Transition to old age. In many cultures this transition is gradual, and in most cultures it occurs without a formal rite of passage. By this time, most people have started to take up jobs that are less physically demanding. They no longer have to do all the hard work themselves. Some may have achieved positions of respect in which their knowledge and experience is used to guide others. On the other hand, some may be rejected as "down and outers" or "old timers."

The transition to old age is marked by formal retirement in some cultures like that of the United States. After a certain age or a given number of years' service, a person must retire. He can no longer work in his customary job. This situation frequently creates a feeling of uselessness that tends to hasten the aging process.

In cultures where there is formal retirement, people do not want to admit their age. (In the U. S. A., actor Jack Benny has been claiming to be 39 since 1933!) They try to stay young. But in India and Serbia, age brings respect and people gladly admit their age.

When do you think a person is old? How old do you think a person must be before your mother or father thinks they are old? Do you think *they* think they are old?

What are some of the attitudes people might have about getting old? What do you think makes them have these different attitudes?

Old Age. Old age usually brings moral, spiritual and religious responsibilities. In India men may retire completely to a life devoted to religious activity or meditation. In our own culture it is often the elderly who are most concerned about making regular trips to the cemetery to pay respects to the dead. In simpler cultures the elderly usually instruct children in many of the traditional values.

Elderly people are happy in cultures where they are respected for their age and knowledge. People look forward to their later years of life with pleasure. But in cultures where the elderly have nothing to do and old age is something to hide, people may dread its approach. They may fear these years and look upon them as something they must endure.

Death is the proof of life, for only a living thing can die. Yet for man, *biological* death does not always mean *cultural* death. It is simply another transition for some.

Most people in the world seem to believe in some form of life after death. This ranges from symbolic *immortality* to actual personal *reincarnation*. In other words, at one extreme, people may hope to be immortal only in a symbolic way—through their accomplishments on earth or in the memories of their friends and family. At the other extreme, people may believe that their lives will literally continue in a heaven, or that their spirit will be transplanted into the body of another person or animal. In some cultures this literal kind of after life may be so much a part of the life of the living that a deceased relative is more a part of the family than a distant relative in our own culture.

Each culture finds a way to dispose of the body. Most Christians, Jews, and Moslems bury their dead. Hindus cremate the body. The Parcees placed their dead on the top of a tower where the buzzards ate the flesh! Regardless of the method, this is usually a solemn occasion. Generally, friends and family come together to share their grief and to console each other. It is also a time when people take stock of their own lives and make plans for the future.

What are some of the ways culture has found for disposing of the body of the deceased?

Funeral ceremonies help the survivors to adjust to the gap that has been created in their lives. Death may bring an end to an individual life, but it does not end the life cycle process for all mankind. This repeats itself over and over again.

What are some of the reasons why funeral ceremonies are held? Are they for the deceased or for the survivors? Why?

Now that we are acquainted with the final transition periods of the life cycle, we can begin our final visits to the field laboratories. This third venture will be more complex because we shall be studying more than one stage in each culture. But by now your training has made you more observant and *analytical.*

Do not forget that field notebook. As we begin our study of the final stages of the life cycle, you will want to review former questions, hypotheses, possible conclusions, and define new problems.

ADULTHOOD, OLD AGE, AND DEATH IN MIDDLE CLASS AMERICA

When the young American's body has begun to assume adult proportions, he has reached the stage where he can handle the physical details of living without much adult help or supervision. But he still needs a great deal of training and experience to become a self-sufficient, self-supporting adult, because he lives in a highly industrialized society which gives him tremendous freedom of choice about who and what he wants to be.

In simpler cultures many of his decisions would be made for him. He might have the same job his father has; marry the girl someone picked for him; and accept the rules of living which his grandparents taught him. But this is not so in the United States. In the span of about 10 years, the adolescent's job will be to gain from learning experiences the knowledge and judgment he needs to make the choices which may determine the future of his entire life.

Although so much is expected of him, the middle class American youngster probably has less worldly experience than teenagers in simpler cultures. He has probably been more sheltered and protected from real life than have Balkan or Tiv youngsters.

Many middle class American children are kept busy with activities designed specifically for children, like summer camps, boy scout troops, or piano lessons. They have had little opportunity to see the adult world, partly because adults work and play in offices and nightclubs where children cannot observe them.

In addition, American parents and teachers tend to give their children a happy optimistic view of the world. They tell them stories about Santa Claus and heroes like Abraham Lincoln. They do not stress some of the harsher realities and evils which they must cope with in their own lives. The movies and television programs which children see also tend to idealize love, war, and other aspects of American life.

So we have in Midclass U. S. A. some relatively sheltered, dependent teenagers, who must gradually begin to turn into sophisticated adults. The adolescent must now learn six basic things: *1) Who he is and who he wants to be.* In simpler cultures a young boy or girl would simply want to be like his parents and the other adults around him. In middle class America, however, the adolescent will try to find out what his own special talents are knowing that he is a unique individual who may be quite different from his parents.

In addition, he will look around at his teachers and other adults to determine what kind of person he would *like* to be. Although he may love and respect his parents, he may not want to be at all like them as an adult.

In the course of finding out who he is, the adolescent will try on many different personalities—being serious one week, jovial the next, and mysterious the next. This experimentation may be somewhat confusing to his parents and even to him, but is a logical way of finding out which personality he is comfortable with.

2) What he will believe. Again, the Chinese teenager would probably have no problem deciding what his basic values should be. They will be quite similar to what he and the generations before him have been taught.

The American teenager is taught to think and to question. He is expected to reason things out for himself and to come to terms with the world in his own way. He is given enough freedom so that he is often in a position to choose between what he believes to be right or wrong. In order to decide, he must first make up his mind what *is* right and what *is* wrong.

He will probably change his beliefs as often as he changes his personality until he finds some basic values which satisfy him. While he is doing so, he may often take on values which conflict with those of his parents. His parents may worry that he is becoming immoral or unethical according to their standards. However, the adolescent usually comes back to the CORE values which he has been taught. He often modifies these values, though, with new ideas which have emerged from his own thinking and experimenting. These new or EMERGENT values help him to cope with the modern world he is living in. This new combination of emergent and core values may contribute to cultural change in the mass culture.

3) What his life's work will be. In middle class America, it is not likely that a youngster will become an apprentice or an office boy in his father's business. He may be entirely unsuited for it by talent or temperament, and his interests may lie elsewhere in a new or different career.

The adolescent must therefore decide if he wants academic training in a college or job training in a vocational school. Either way, there are thousands of options open to him. Is his talent in his hands? his mind? his ability to deal with people? Is he interested in fame? money? service to mankind? a special subject area? glamour? security?

While he explores one field and another, his parents hope that whatever field he chooses will give him the financial security they believe he will need. While they may be overly interested in security, the teenager may be overly interested in personal job satisfaction. In most cases he will decide on a course which will give him both satisfaction and a decent living, and both the adolescent and his parents will be glad the period of uncertainty is over.

An American girl today is expected to have some of the same virtues, values, and behavior patterns that used to be expected only of boys. Now she is also expected to prepare herself for a career outside the home. But adults may stress a girl's education and future career one day, and the advantages of a husband and home the next. Under these circumstances a girl frequently becomes confused, especially since some Americans feel that a happy marriage and a career do not go together.

Do you think a girl can have both a successful marriage and a career outside the home?

Compare woman's work in the United States with woman's work in other cultures.

4) How to choose a mate. Since Americans believe in romantic love and free choice of a marriage partner, the teenager must begin dating to find out what makes girls tick and which type of girl is right for him. Scores of dances, movies, and dinner dates later, he will be ready to decide which *particular* girl is the right one for him. In the process he must learn how to get along with girls, how to act like the kind of boy to whom girls are attracted, as well as how and to what extent to control his sexual desires.

Since the result of his experimentation is expected to be a lifelong marriage partner, a great deal is at stake. His parents may see more readily than the adolescent the mistakes he is making along the way. They will probably be uneasy about the possibility that his experimentation may lead to trouble or tragedy. The adolescent, in the meantime, is not always happy with his dates (or lack of them) either, and may worry that the mate for him does not exist at all.

Compare dating practices to mate selection in the Balkans.

What are some of the problems that arise as a result of the personal selection of a marriage partner? What are some of the problems that arise from having someone else do the selecting?

How do boys and girls acquire mates in the other cultures?

5) What the real world is all about and how to cope with it. It may come as a shock to many teenagers that there is no Santa Claus, so to speak—that the good guys don't always win; that justice does not always triumph; that might often makes right; that truth is not always a virtue; that courage is not always practical; that some evils will never be cured in his lifetime; that virtue is not always rewarded or vice punished.

As his opportunities to see the adult world increase, the teenager may at first be disillusioned by what he sees. The same adults who have taught him to be honest, virtuous, and brave do not always act that way themselves. It will take time for him to understand that right and wrong are not absolutes; that the world of moral values is not black and white, but often shades of grey.

He will have to learn when to compromise and when to retreat; when to be less than truthful if he can avoid hurting someone's feelings; when to smooth things over instead of taking a stand; when to do the wrong thing for the right reason; or when *not* to do the right thing for the wrong reason.

The road from idealism to reality is a difficult one for an adolescent to travel. Often there is the temptation to become cynical or to reject all the ideals he has been taught. While he is trying to get the world in focus, he may be critical of his parents. They, in turn, will try to point out to him the circumstances which make them act in a less than perfect way. Only time and experience will solve this disagreement. But eventually most teenagers become balanced adults who retain their ideals but realize that practical events often force them to act short of them.

6) Self discipline and self-direction. The teenager seeks and is given greater freedom to come and go as he pleases, to think and act as he sees fit, and to make his own decisions. While this new freedom is quite exhilarating to adolescents, the necessity to take on the responsibility that comes with it can be quite a difficult, frightening experience.

Perhaps because they are a little frightened about the prospect of making choices on their own, adolescents tend to imitate one another in the clothes they choose, the way they act, and the things they do. It is later, when they have gained confidence in their ability to choose correctly, that they become more individual in their tastes and actions.

This may also account for the fact that teenagers do so many things in groups. It is hard to get down to work alone, or to know what to say to a date at first. And so adolescents find safety in numbers until they have gained enough control and experience to go it alone.

While the adolescent is developing this control and experience, it is tempting for parents to step in as they used to and tell them what to do. It is painful for parents to see their child floundering in deep waters. But this kind of help is neither helpful nor is it appreciated by an adolescent who wants to learn to do things himself. Most parents of adolescents find that their best course is to wait until they are asked for help. In the end, time and experience will again iron out these problems, usually with the result that the adolescent becomes, through trial and error, a self-reliant person.

Eventually he learns the things he needs to know to survive and prosper in Midclass, U. S. A. He also becomes an adult in the legal sense: he may have a driver's license, marry, own property, work, vote, and fight for his country.

These new adult responsibilities help him to realize that being an adult does not mean freedom from restrictions, although it looked that way when he was a child. Being an adult means trading the restrictions imposed by your parents for restrictions imposed by yourself, your family, your boss, and the society you live in.

Adolescence is characterized as a period of value conflict between older and younger generations. The amount of parent-child tension varies from family to family, but this is not necessarily violent or overt. The conflict between parent and child is *different* in adolescence, however, because the teenager is more articulate than the small child. In addition, his points of view and arguments command more respect than the rebellious outbursts of the small child.

Examine through class discussion how the hippi or yippie movement is some adolescents' search for the real world. Include in your examination a search for some generalizations that would describe the opposing views of such groups as Students for a Democratic Society and VISTA workers.

Do you feel that a youth revolution is occurring? If so what do you feel is at the basis of this revolution, what are its goals, what do you feel will be its outcome?

Is youth revolt typical of the adolescent period of the life cycle? Do some library research on some early youth movements such as "bohemians and beatniks."

In any case, adolescence is a necessary step toward adulthood, and it is not an easy one. It is difficult for the adolescent because he must learn so many things by trial and error without allowing himself the comfort of his parents' constant direction. It is difficult for parents to watch an adolescent make mistakes, and learn the hard way things which they already know. But eventually this important growing up process is over—usually about the time the adolescent decides to get married.

Many cultures have a rite of passage that marks the end of the growing up period and the beginning of cultural adulthood. But in America there is no such ritual. Girls from wealthy homes may have a debut or coming out party which announces that they are ready for marriage. Boys from so-called suitable families are invited to attend this party. In this way, the families of these boys and girls try to make sure that their offspring will meet the right kind of person to marry.

Perhaps at one time religious ceremonies like confirmation, adult baptism, or Bar Mitzvah acted as rites of passage into the adult world. But today they have religious importance only. Marriage is more important as a rite of passage in America today.

Once two people decide they want to marry, they may announce their intentions. This announcement marks the beginning of their engagement. The engagement ring may symbolize the agreement. For some couples this period may last only a few minutes, for others it may go on for years. The couple is usually under no real obligation to marry, although marriage breach of promise suits have appeared on court dockets in some states.

What ceremonies or events are approximately equivalent to engagements in the other cultures you have studied? In what ways are they similar to American engagements?

It is the marriage ceremony that unites the couple, ideally for life. This function may be an elaborate religious affair taking months of preparation, or a simple legal act performed quickly by a justice of the peace before witnesses. Regardless of how the ceremony is carried out, it is the rite of passage to married life, family, and legal offspring.

After marriage, most newlyweds postpone the full responsibilities of their new status for a short period. The problems which two fully grown individuals must face in a life together are often many. Their honeymoon period is supposed to give them a chance to begin these personal adjustments.

How does waiting until one is fully developed help or hinder adjustments in marriage?

Do you think the honeymoon period really helps the couple with their personal adjustments, or do you think this period might only put off real adjustments?

Usually there is a relatively short initial period of married life when the couple does not have children. It is during this period that more and more women work at full-time jobs. This is also the time when a young man may be still in school or undecided about his occupation. During this phase of married life, the young couple frequently rents a small house or apartment.

What are some of the difficulties of having to set up a new household instead of living with parents or in-laws after marriage?

Why do you think most Americans are so sure that the only way for a married couple to live successfully is by themselves? Do you know any families where the young couple has not established a *neolocal* residence?

The arrival of the first child often makes it necessary for the young mother to stop working outside the home. The couple may find it necessary to find a larger place to live, and they might arrange to buy or build a house of their own. It is in this home that the family usually spends the short period of child-bearing and the longer period of child raising, unless job changes make it desirable for them to move again.

Once all the children have entered school, the mother may return to either a part-time or even a full-time job outside the home. Or she may become more active in charitable organizations. Throughout this period of adulthood, status and prestige are not usually associated closely with age but with economic well-being, education, skill, and leadership.

Finally, after a relatively short period when the children are leaving home, the couple finds itself alone again. The big house is expensive and no longer necessary. Frequently, the older couple moves back into a small rented house or apartment.

Do mothers in the other cultures you have studied work outside the home? How is the kind of work they do different or similar to what American mothers do? How do the mothers in the four cultures arrange to take care of their babies?

Can adulthood in America be divided into a series of substages? Or is this stage uniform throughout?

NOTE: Discuss the following periods:

1. marriage prior to children

2. child bearing
3. child raising
4. children leaving home
5. the time after all children have left home

As an individual grows older, he discovers that added years do not increase his position but tend to reduce his importance at work, in the community where he lives, and even at home. Retirement often comes before he is physically old. This forced reduction in activity may even help cause a person to decline prematurely. In America forced retirement usually occurs when an individual is about 65 years old.

Technology has given almost everyone a longer life expectancy. Technology has also given many people less to do. This is especially true for the older members of the culture. In a culture that praises work and frowns on idleness, the older members of the culture feel useless. They have no real job and are upset by their inability to contribute anything useful.

Occasionally, these senior citizens may be asked to look after their grandchildren. They may be asked for advice, but rapid changes in culture often make their answers meaningless. They do not always understand the ways of their children, and cannot really talk with them about some things. Once again the communication problem arises.

In which cultures does increased age bring with it increased prestige? Why do you think this is not the case in the U. S.?

What do old people do in the other cultures? What do they do in the U. S.?

Do you think older people may have problems similar to those faced by adolescents? If so, what are they?

NOTE: You should be able to project yourself into the position of the aged. You should recognize such things as: 1. communication problem, 2. lack of meaningful activities, 3. no prestige, 4. financial dependence, 5. declining health and energy.

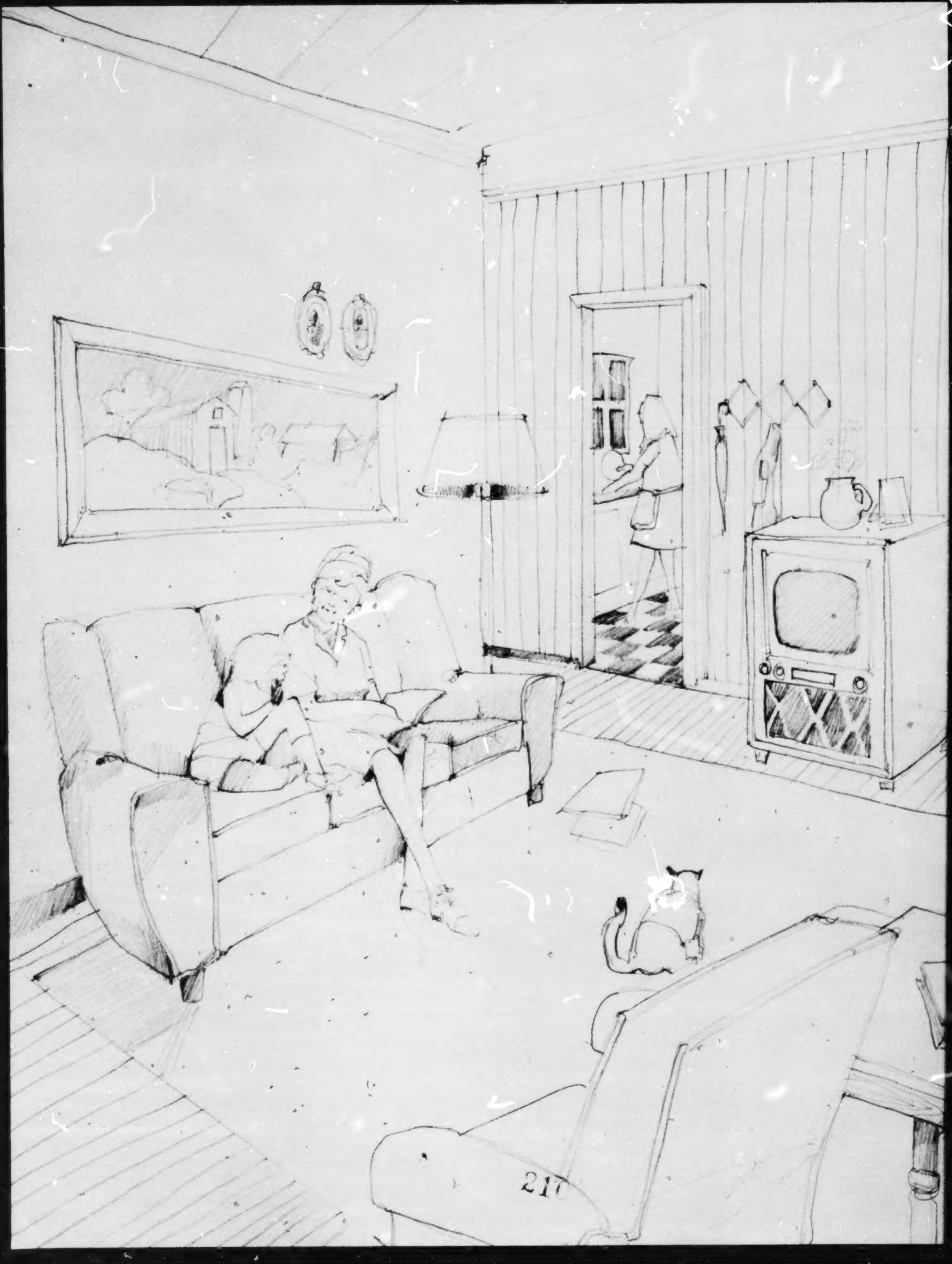
Gradually illness may isolate the aged from their friends. Death may claim some. By 70 some people are weak, their sight may be failing, and their general health poor. Their main concern often is for the moment. They want to live as long as possible, and to withdraw from life when the time comes with as little discomfort as possible. This is commonly the time when people think about the meaning of life and grow increasingly aware that death is approaching.

Death is never easy but, to some Americans who have been raised in the Christian tradition, death is the beginning of a new life with their god. The body is cared for according to the laws of the state, and in a way acceptable to the religious beliefs of the deceased and the survivors.

The body may be dressed in fine clothes and placed in a casket for friends and relatives to view and pay their last respects. Or the body may be buried or cremated without this last viewing. Religious services may be held in the home of the deceased, in a religious building, or beside the grave. The public may be invited to attend or it may be a quiet family affair. Flowers are usually placed on the grave. In some cases the family requests that donations be made instead to some organization in the name of the deceased. This latter custom has been gaining in popularity in recent times.

Something should be said about the cost of death. In the mid-Sixties, undertaking establishments came under strong criticism for high-handed tactics in their business practices. By taking advantage of the bereaved mental state of the deceased's family, undertakers were able to net profits of five to seven thousand dollars per funeral.

One undertaker explained that he has three



rooms to display coffins. If the customer appears very distressed and anxious to hurry through the unhappy proceedings, he shows him the most expensive coffins. If the cost is too far beyond his means, he then shows him the second room of coffins. But he does not mention the existence of still less expensive coffins. With a family that appears to be fairly rational, he does not play such games but starts with the cheapest coffins. Two books published on this subject became national best sellers, while the reputation of undertaking establishments dropped somewhat.

During the period of mourning, which varies from a few days to several months, friends and relatives try to be sure that those affected by the death are not left alone in their grief. Eventually the shock of the death passes. Things gradually return to normal.

Every few seconds somewhere in America a new infant is born. The life cycle begins again and repeats itself over and over.

What is the importance of mourning?

ADULTHOOD, OLD AGE, AND DEATH AMONG THE TIV

Following our study of the last stages of the life cycle in American middle class society, we move onward to the next field laboratory located in Africa. The Tiv should present quite a contrast to our previous study. It should be interesting to note the differences between middle class Americans and the Tiv. But even more challenging will be to explain these differences in a variety of ways. Furthermore, we might seek to define similarities between the two cultures and attempt to explain the causes of such similarities. It will be necessary to keep our field notebook handy as its use becomes more and more valuable in our inquiry.

As we arrive in Tivland, we note immediately that adolescence is not what it is in America. In fact, adolescence is practically nonexistent as a definite transitional period. The question, "Why no adolescence?" can be answered as you observe Tiv adulthood and the following stages of life, and reflect on previous observations.

By the time a girl is 16, the Tiv feels she is ready for marriage. Males usually marry in their early twenties. With marriage, childhood comes to an end and adult life begins.

At time of marriage, are boys usually older than girls in all the other cultures you have studied? Do you think the biology of the life cycle is an important factor in this?

There are lots of chances for young Tiv to meet. A common place is at the markets. It is often through such meetings that elopements become possible. Although "stealing" a wife in this way brings prestige to the groom, a large number of Tiv marriages are arranged by people other than the young couple. The individuals who arrange these marriages try their best to satisfy the couple since divorce is common among the Tiv.

How do Serbian young people meet?

NOTE: You can make a chart showing how people acquire a marriage partner and what sorts of things are considered important in the different cultures. Start now with the U. S. and the Tiv, and then add information on the Balkans and China as you study their marriage customs. The whole class can choose the categories for your chart, but you should include:

1. residence or location of the new couple
2. relationship
3. who makes the choice of marriage partners

Through much of Africa, it is customary for a man to give a brideprice to the family of his bride. Among the Tiv this payment is not great—a goat, some gifts of food, and perhaps a little money. The amount is settled by the girl's marriage guardian and the father of the groom. Once the amount is agreed upon, the groom may take his bride to his compound. But the marriage is not considered legal until the brideprice is paid in full.

When the bride arrives at her husband's compound, there is a celebration with singing and dancing. The new bride is secluded for several days. She must stay with her mother-in-law if she is her husband's first wife. If her husband has other wives, she is taken to the hut where she will live until her first child is born.

The day after her seclusion ends, she goes to work in the fields of one of the women in her husband's compound. Later, her husband will give her a piece of land of her own to farm. When her first child is born, he will build a separate hut for her and her children.

Farming is the main economic activity of the Tiv. Women from a single compound work together in the fields. They are organized under the leadership of a senior woman. When the group is made up of co-wives, this woman is usually the senior or first wife. Men as well as women like to work in groups. It is common for members of the same age grade to work together.

Among the Tiv, a leader is a man who speaks softly but with conviction. He should be sincere and intelligent. A hasty man or one who loses his temper is often despised. Leadership is not inherited. It is earned through personal deeds.

Tiv men want to have power and influence. This is acquired by practicing *akombo* rites. The elders are the ones who have the knowledge of these rites, and no one can gain control of an *akombo* without this knowledge.

As much as a young man wants to control an *akombo*, he must be careful not to offend an elder by making his wishes too obvious. At the same time, a young man tries to gain recognition in his age grade, but he knows he must not show his prominence in front of the elders. A young man realizes that it is to his advantage to have the elders on his side since they have the power for good or for ill. One way to do this is to show them respect by not threatening their authority individually or being too dominant in their age grade. On the other hand, if a young man should feel that an elder is performing a ritual act against him, his whole age grade may appear at a meeting on his behalf.

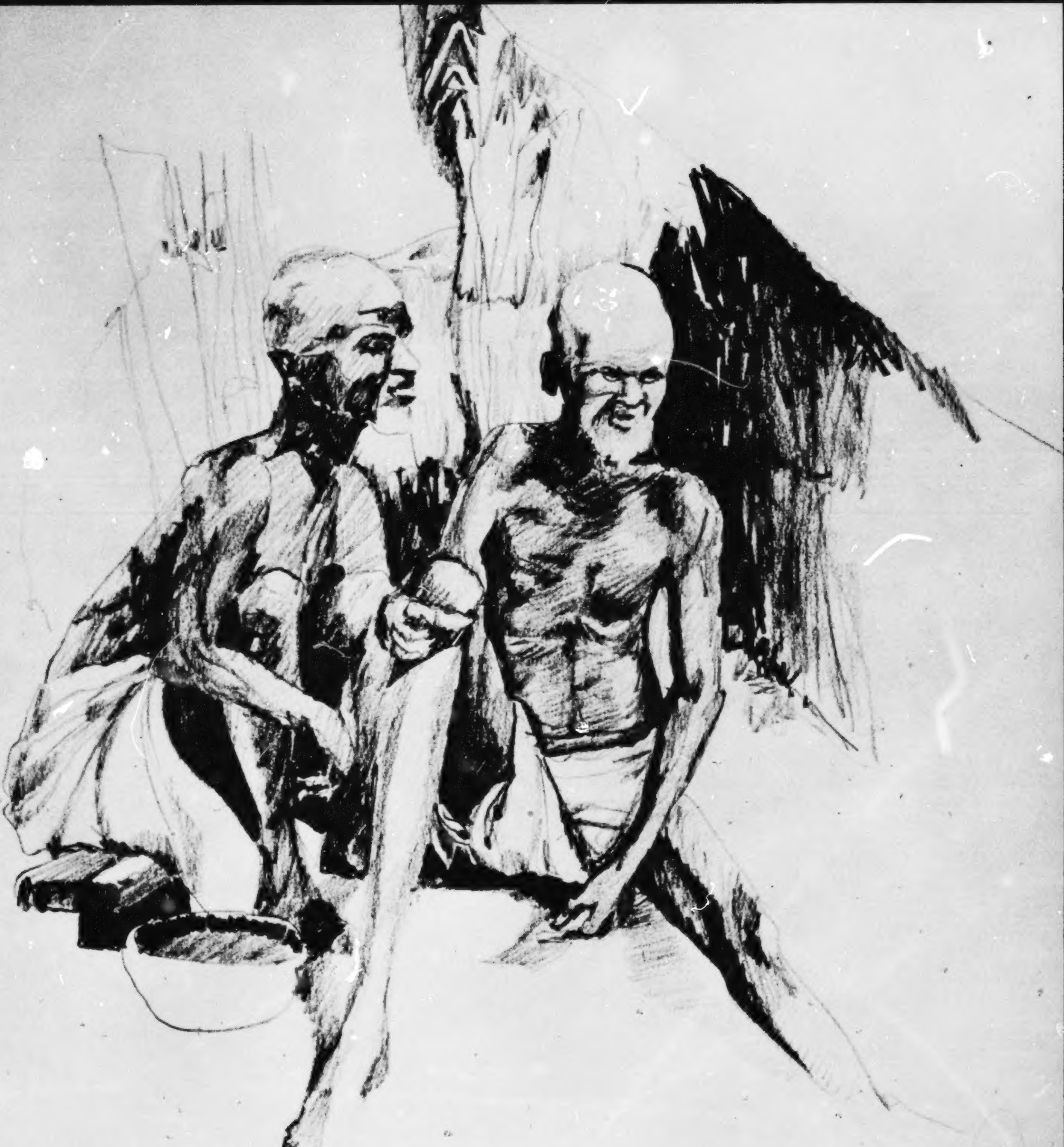
Can you see any ways in which the problems of a young Tiv adult may resemble the problems adolescents sometimes have in the United States?

By a man's 40th year, he has probably achieved the status of elder and his age grade associations are no longer very important. The competition for leadership is extremely strong and disrupts the unity of the age grade. Members are no longer dependent on one another for protection from the elders. By the time the members of an age grade have reached their 50th year, their age grade is just a sentimental association. As men grow older, their age grades tend to combine, and young men say, "All old men have one age grade."

When someone gets very sick, the members of his family (or, if it is a man, his age grade) go to the diviner. This diviner determines which *akombo* is causing the illness. The elders are then asked why they have not protected the sick man since it is their duty to do this. A sacrifice is made. If the sick person recovers, the Tiv believe it is because of the force of the elders' *tsav*.

Do you remember what *tsav* is? Look back at the cultural background of the Tiv if you have forgotten. What is the difference between *tsav* and *akombo*?

Do you see any relationship between these Tiv concepts and those with which you are personally familiar?



The Tiv believe that death has two causes. One is the immediate cause like illness or accident. The other is the ultimate cause that caused the illness or accident. This ultimate cause is witchcraft. No medicine or treatment of the immediate cause is possible until the ultimate cause has been discovered and dealt with.

If a young man dies, he is buried without *akombo* rites. When an elder dies, he is laid out in his house and cannot be buried until all the *akombo* under his power has been set right. This is done by killing a chicken for each *akombo*. If this is not done, the Tiv believe the son or brother who should have performed the rite will be unlucky in farming.

A person usually is buried within 24 hours after he dies. The body is washed by relatives and covered with cloth. Those who were present at the time of death watch over the body until it is buried. An important elder is buried in the yard of his compound and a roof is placed over the grave. A fire is lit, beer is brewed, and a feast takes place. An ordinary person is buried by the side of a path near the village.

The grave is dug by the closest male relative of the deceased. Women are not allowed to look into the open grave. Old women stand around singing mourning songs and lamentations. Continued mourning is an individual affair and is observed most often by the wife and mother. The period is indefinite. It sometimes lasts several days. It may last a year.

Since the Tiv believe that all deaths are caused by witchcraft, the relatives of the deceased hold a meeting to try to determine the ultimate cause of death. All those who might have wanted the person to die are considered. Long standing grudges are discussed and the problems of human relationships are reviewed. Discussion continues until some decision is made and everyone is satisfied with the results.

Finally, the Tiv return to their daily tasks showing that they are masters of their own fate. And the life cycle continues.

How do you think this practice of meeting to discuss the ultimate cause of death helps the Tiv to adjust to their loss and return to a normal life?

FROM MARRIAGE TO DEATH IN THE BALKANS

Upon our arrival at the field laboratory in Serbia, we record again the apparent absence of adolescence as a major stage in the life cycle. The Serbian peasant seems to move from childhood directly into adulthood. Here, as in previous studies, marriage plays an important role in the advancement toward adulthood.

Adult life without marriage is something these people do not understand. Everyone is expected to marry. Full adult status is not really achieved until the married couple has its first child. Brothers and sisters usually marry in order of age. This makes it very difficult for older siblings to delay marriage even if they want to.

Only about one-third of the marriages take place between young people from the same village. As a result, every village is connected to neighboring villages through a series of marriage bonds. This helps to keep the villages from becoming too isolated.

NOTE: In small communities the backgrounds of people are similar. People tend to know a great deal about one another and what is expected. Where there are few variations in roles, there are generally fewer difficulties between people.

Fall is the time when most marriages take place. After the harvest there is plenty of food for celebrations. The preparations for the wedding often take several weeks. First a dowry is arranged between the families. The prospective father-in-law of the birde collects the dowry at the girl's home a few days before the wedding. He places the items on his wagon and drives through the town so that everyone may see the value of his son's bride.

In the groom's house the dowry is arranged in the room where the newlyweds will live. Both the men and the women are busy preparing for the wedding feast. Even relatives and neighbors are asked to help and are given a small gift in return.

On the morning of the wedding, the guests gather at the house of the groom's father. A caravan of carriages and buggies finally departs for the girl's house where they will be met by the girl's male relatives. A meal is eaten in the bride's home with the bride and groom at the end of the table.

When the meal is finished, the bride is escorted to the lead carriage of the caravan. Everyone procedes to the church where a brief ceremony is performed. The party then goes to the groom's house for the wedding feast and celebration which lasts for hours. At sundown, the bride and groom slip away from the party to their own room while the merrymaking continues throughout the night.

Why do marriages often take place in the fall?

Who participates in the marriage ceremony?

Does the marriage ceremony help to intensify the bond not only between the couple but between the two families? If so, how? Does the ceremony make the members of the girl's and boy's village or villages witness to the contract? How?

Even though a Serbian marriage is a contract between two people, it is also a contract between two families. The young couple live with the boy's family. This is known as *patrilocal residence*. The girl is not exclusively dependent on her husband for companionship. She has all of her female in-laws for company as well. The couple is not isolated. On the other hand, when the couple lives with the boy's family, the new bride must adjust not only to her new status as wife, but also to the ways of her in-laws.

Do you think the new bride or the new groom has a more difficult adjustment problem? Do you think your answer would be true for all cultures?

In what ways can you test your answer? Together with your classmates, think about ways of testing your answers. The four case studies illustrate only patrilocal and neolocal residence. What would the situation be if a people were *matrilocal*?

The new wife's daily life centers around domestic affairs and helping in the fields. Usually the first child is born within a year after marriage. No marriage is considered complete without children. If no children have been born within a reasonable length of time, a divorce may be arranged or a child adopted. But divorce is a disgrace to both families and remarriage for girls is difficult.

Men and women in their 20's and 30's are very active. Most of the heavy physical labor is done by them. Early in the spring the fields are plowed and prepared for planting. Men attend to the vineyards and livestock with the help of young boys and girls. Women milk cows, feed some of the farm animals, and prepare the meals. Women also plant vegetable gardens and help their husbands in the fields.

The family works together to see that all tasks are done. Farming in Serbia is a family affair including all ages and both sexes. Still, many of the jobs are done alone. When help is needed, friends and neighbors cooperate, knowing that in the future they too may need a helping hand.

Division of labor based on age and sex is thought to be more basic than one based on education. Age seems to be the only criterion for a division of labor among females, but training is also important for males.

Do Serbians work together in groups? If so, what kinds of people make up the groups? Can you tell if the groups are made up of individuals of different ages and different sexes?

Discuss the division of labor. Are age, sex, and education equally important?

Throughout these early adult years, men and women work hard. Women participate in decision-making that affects the entire household, but they do not command as much respect or have the same authority as their husbands.

Although the younger adults do most of the heavy labor, it is the older people in the village who have the greatest prestige and authority. When a man reaches the age of 40, he carries a cane when he goes to market. Then people call him *cica* and respect him as an elder.

Are these same categories to be found among all animals or are they only characteristics of human groups?

NOTE: Compare especially the social insects and various primate groups.

Gradually women, too, are respected as elders. By their 50th birthday they are no longer as dominated by males as they were in their early adult years. Now women can go alone to market and to social gatherings. They are called *deda* and their opinions are respected, especially in domestic affairs. Men also receive a new title on their 50th birthday. Now people will call them *baba* with all the respect that is due their age.

Are men and women proud of their advancing years? Be sure to give reasons for your answer.

These older people are respected not only in the village but are considered to be the heads of their own households even when they do not provide its economic support. They have many other tasks to do. They often care for their grandchildren while the younger adults are working in the fields. Cooking, housework, and some of the repairing of tools are all jobs for older people. Often they are the ones to make the final decision on something that concerns the entire household. It is seldom that an elderly person has to live alone. But when this happens, neighbors and friends help him in every way they can.

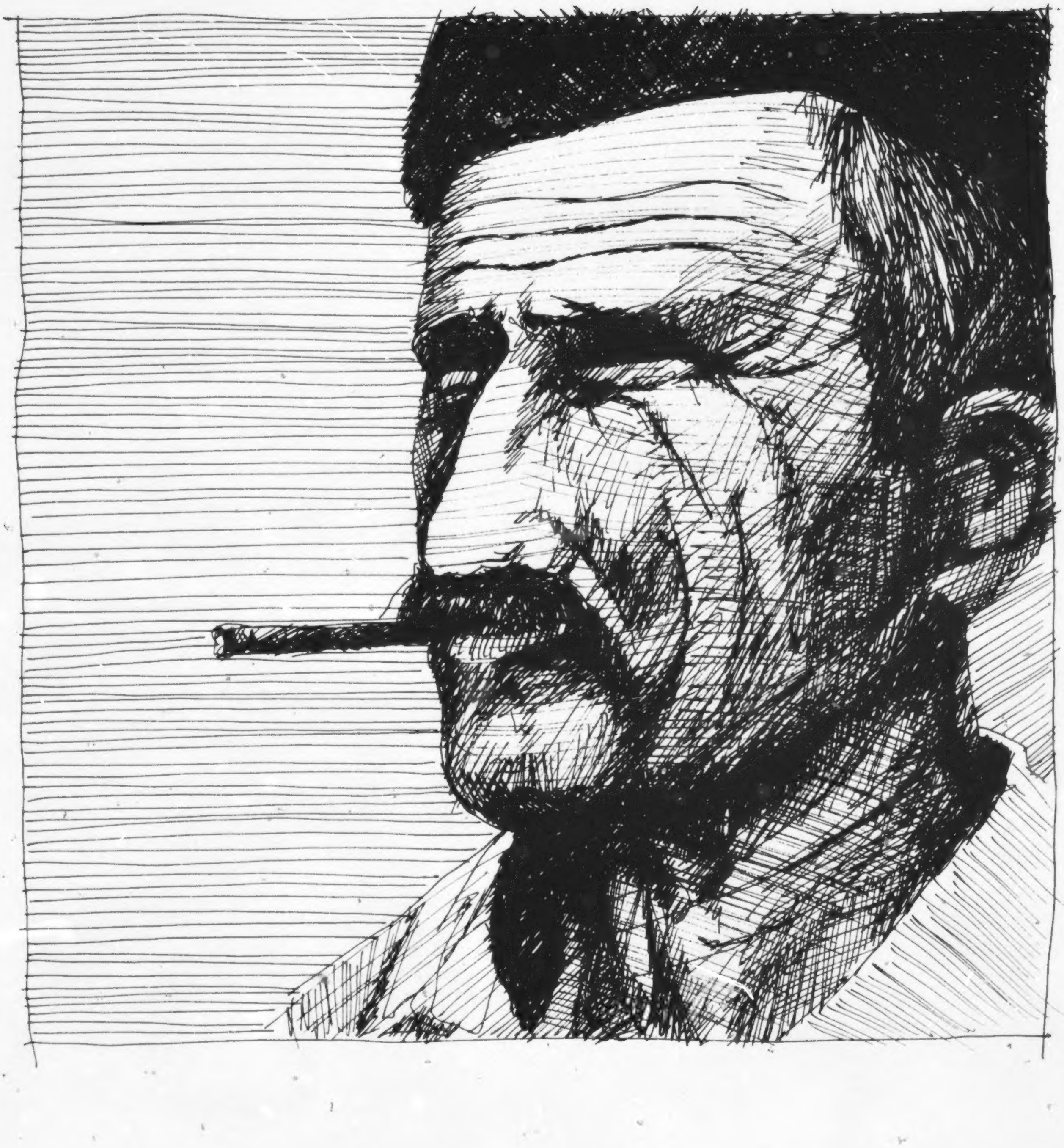
What important responsibilities do the older men and women have? What is their relationship to the infants and small children in the household? What is their relationship to the young adults?

What responsibilities do each of these groups have to the elderly? Why do you think other people are concerned about old people?

When an elderly person is dying, his family informs the people in the village. His best clothes are made ready and people wait. After death, someone sits guarding the body and candles are kept burning.

If you live near a large Jewish community, you can investigate a similar practice among Jews. Why do they have the body guarded?

Salt, wine, and bread are brought to feed the spirit of the deceased. All the windows are closed and any mirrors in the room are removed.



The peasants believe that this will keep the spirit of the deceased from leaving.

Compare these funeral practices with what you know of similar practices in your own community. How are they similar? How are they different?

The funeral always takes place the day after death. The same people who would be invited to a wedding attend the burial. They crowd into the room where the corpse lies. The women weep, but the men are not supposed to show grief in public.

When the head of the household decides it is time for the burial, the priest says a few prayers and everyone walks to the church where a service is held. The group then goes to the cemetery where a final prayer is said. Some money is placed in the hand of the deceased "for the journey." A bottle of wine and one of oil are broken on the closed coffin before it is lowered into the grave.

Ancient Romans placed coins with the deceased for a similar journey. Why?

After the burial, everyone sits on the ground between the tombstones to eat the feast that has been prepared. The family returns to the graveyard to hold similar feasts at set intervals for a year after the death has occurred. The immediate family goes to the grave every week during this entire time. It is customary for the women to wear black kerchiefs and the men to wear black armbands throughout this one-year period of mourning.

Although death is never pleasant, the Balkan peasants accept it, believing that the deceased will continue his or her life in another world.

This concludes our study of the Balkan peasant's life cycle. We are left with many questions. For example, we have observed the strong reliance on a belief in life after death. One question which is interesting to ask ourselves is what cultural changes could we expect if the Serb peasantry suddenly disavowed their belief in an after life? We could probably ask the same question about American and Tiv practices. Of course, our answer would only be an educated guess until further investigation could be made.

Can you think of any cultures which do not believe in some form of after life?

Whether or not we wish to ponder the problem is an individual matter. But we must now proceed east to China, our final overseas field laboratory. Before we start out, we must look in our field notebooks to recall how and where we left off in our study of the life cycle in China. Based upon our earlier study, what do you think marks the beginning of adulthood in the Chinese village? With this question in mind, let us return to our study of China.

ADULTHOOD AND OLD AGE IN A CHINESE VILLAGE

As in our previous three studies, marriage marks the beginning of adulthood. The elders of the family decide when this transition should take place. In the case of a village boy it may occur when the family feels that the youth is spending too much time in gambling or at local fairs. The elders begin to worry that the boy will be spoiled and will find it hard to settle down. In cities, marriages may be arranged after a boy has completed his schooling or has found a job.

If a family is very poor, the decision to marry a son is a serious one. It means they will have more mouths to feed. Among the poorest families, marriage of a son brings a certain amount of prestige, for it means they were able to give the necessary money and presents to the girl's family.

Do you think the economic condition of a family might influence the age at which betrothals and marriages are arranged for boys and girls?

When the decision is made that a young person should marry, a professional matchmaker is often asked to find a suitable partner. Sometimes the family may learn of someone through neighbors or friends.

But as soon as an acceptable person is found, a diviner is called. He reads the horoscopes of the two young people to be sure they are suited to one another. If the horoscopes agree, a member of the boy's family, usually his mother, goes with the matchmaker to take presents to the girl's family. This marks the formal agreement of marriage. Of course, if the couple is betrothed already, then these preliminary exchanges took place at a previous time.

Why do the Chinese exchange horoscopes?

NOTE: The people of India also exchange horoscopes for the same purpose. Sometimes it also provides a polite way of refusing a prospective marriage candidate. All one needs to say is that they have found the two horoscopes incompatable.

Before the actual wedding date is fixed, the boy's family sends gifts on two additional occasions to the girl's household. Then, when a lucky day is found, the boy's family sends bride cakes made of rice dough, sugar and pork to the girl's house.

Now the girl rolls her hair up for the first time, instead of braiding it, for at last she is sure of her marriage. She knows that soon the boy's family will send for her trousseau. If they are wealthy, they will send musicians and even shoot off fireworks as they carry her in a red sedan chair through the streets to her new home. She will pay the proper respects to her ancestors at the ancestral shrine before she leaves her home.

What is the outward symbol that a girl is ready to be married? What would the corresponding symbol be in the United States? Do you think they have the same function in both cultures?

NOTE: Traditionally, a Chinese girl does not go out in public. Therefore, her change in hair style does not indicate to everyone that she is no longer a young girl without a prospective husband.

In the groom's house the bridal room is prepared. An old woman with many descendants may be asked to decorate the bridal bed. She often asks to have as many male infants as possible sleep on the bed. This is to insure that the new couple will have sons.

What are the special activities of the groom's family and friends just before the marriage? How are these activities the same and how are they different for the Serbians and the Chinese?

After arriving at the groom's house, the bride is led to the bridal bed where the groom is already seated. There they sit side by side without speaking or touching for about 15 minutes. Only after they have paid their respects to heaven and earth, the ancestral shrine, their elders, guests, and each other are they allowed to return to the bridal room.

Now the bride kneels down while the groom lifts off her veil. This may be the first time he sees her face. The couple performs the ceremony of eating and drinking together, paying their respects to the kitchen god, and to all the senior members of the household, one by one.

NOTE: The marriage ceremony reflects and reinforces Chinese attitudes toward different members of the family. Remember that family ties are much more important for the Chinese than for middle class Americans.

Finally, after celebration in both the home of the groom and of the bride, the newly married couple settles down to life as adults in the husband's family home. People no longer call the husband by his little or baby name. He has the right to represent his family in public affairs and to own property. No matter how young he is, his father no longer has the right to beat him. His opinion is considered along with the opinions of other young adults.

The changes in the daily life of a newly married girl are much greater than those of her husband. She must adjust to an entirely new family. She must take orders from her mother-in-law. Her day is filled with domestic duties and she usually has very little time for herself. It is not until after her first child is born that she gains any real respect from her in-laws. If the baby is a boy her position will be even better than if she bears a girl. With the birth of each additional son her prestige within the household will increase.

But it is only after her first son is married that a woman achieves any real authority in the household. Her husband's position in the family also increases with age and the number of sons he has.

If a girl is to live with her in-laws after she is married, do you think it will be easier for her to adjust to her new way of life if she goes to live with them as a child or when she is older?

In what ways does marriage affect the lives of the young couple? In what ways are the effects the same for both the young man and the young woman? In what ways are the effects different?

Which is more important for a Chinese woman, her marriage or her first child? Give reasons for your answer. Would your answer be the same for a Balkan woman? Why?

How does the birth of the first child affect the lives of individuals within the Chinese family? For whom is this event most important? Why? Is the birth of the first child equally important for the Tiv?

Why does a Chinese man want to have sons? Why does a Chinese woman want to have sons?

The amount of physical work a mother-in-law has to do decreases as her sons marry and she gains daughters-in-law. Her husband has less physical labor to do and fewer financial worries as his sons grow up and gradually take over these responsibilities.

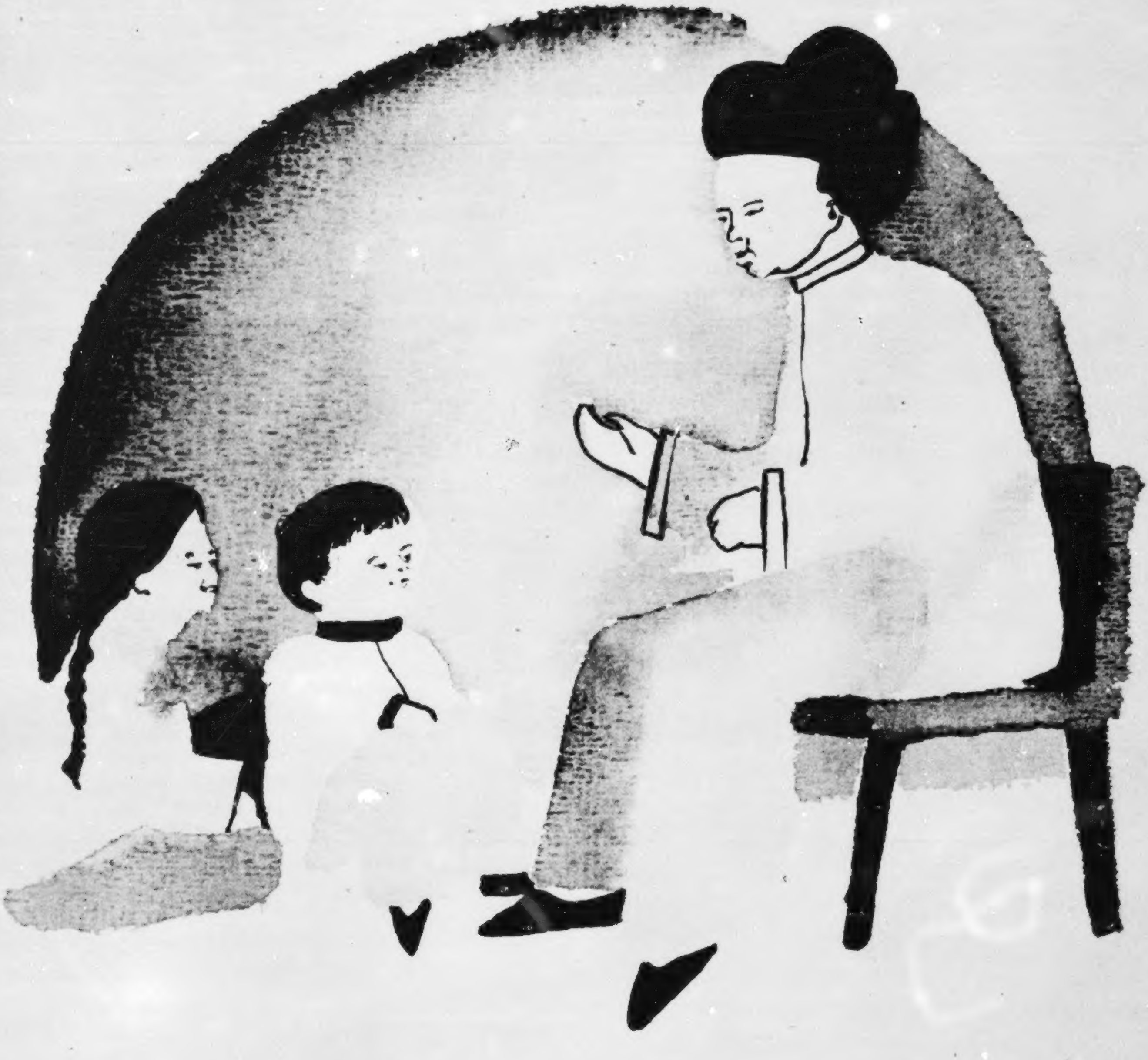
Life becomes relatively easy for the older couple. Now they receive the respect and consideration that comes with age. They are the advisors, and they carry out more and more of the ritual duties in the household. The difference in position between men and women is no longer so obvious.

As grandparents, they are both responsible for the spiritual and ritual maintenance of the family. But it is the grandmother more than the grandfather who teaches the traditional values to her grandchildren by example and story telling. The grandfather usually choses to remain more distant and expects the younger children in particular to take care of all his minor needs.

For the Chinese, these later years are filled with happiness and personal satisfaction. Everyone looks forward to this period as one of the best times in life, surrounded by their children and grandchildren.

Are the responsibilities of older people in China similar to the responsibilities of older people in the Balkans?

Are older people respected in China? If



so, why? ______________________

When death finally occurs, both men and women weep. No one should die alone, but should be surrounded by relatives so that the soul is not forgotten in the spirit world. The body is never left alone until it is sealed in its coffin.

A chief mourner is chosen from the nearest of kin. The body is covered and a "soul table" is set up. On this table a special lamp is kept burning to light the soul on its journey. Offerings are burned in clay vessels. Money is placed in the coffin with the body for the spirit's use on its way to the nether world. Finally, the coffin is nailed shut while the mourners kneel and a priest reads prayers.

It may be several months before the coffin is actually buried. The length of time a family delays in burying the dead is thought to reflect how greatly the family has felt its loss. But funeral ceremonies and burial in the ancestral graveyard are only for married people. An unmarried person is buried in the public cemetery.

Every family tries to make yearly trips to the ancestral graveyard on a set day. They take food and clothing for the deceased and feel they are reunited with the dead. These trips also bring members of the same *tsu* together and they eat as a single family among the graves.

In what ways are the funeral practices of the Chinese and the Orthodox Christian Serbians similar? How are they different?

Can you find anything about Chinese burial customs that make you think about Tiv funeral practices?

Why do you think funeral ceremonies are only for married people? Why do you think unmarried people are buried in public cemeteries?

Compare and contrast the treatment of the deceased in the four cultures you have studied. Do you know any other ways that the deceased are treated?

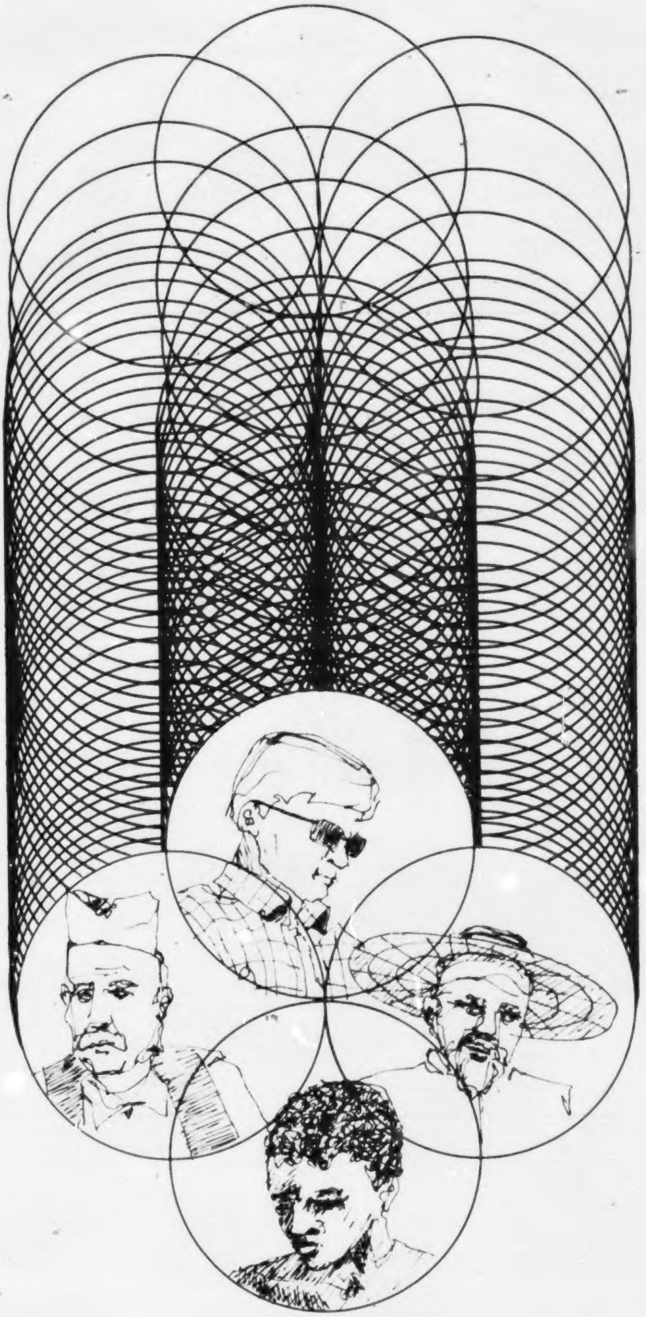
In the home, offerings are made daily at the family shrine by the women of the household. From time to time the names and relationships of the dead are recited and gradually even the smallest member of the family knows these lists by heart. In this way the memory of the dead lives on for generations within the family.

We have now reached the end of our research in the field laboratories. The time has come to review our findings. As we review our *data*, we can compare, analyze, evaluate, and draw conclusions about what we have learned about the life cycle and the four cultures.

Following this chapter are four brief summaries of the cultures we studied in relation to the life cycle. You will probably be able to add more to the summaries.

7

summary



It isn't so astonishing, the number of things that I can remember, as the number of things I can remember that aren't so.

Mark Twain

Our study of the biology of the life cycle showed that there are certain stages in the life of man which each person and each culture must accept. These include infancy, childhood, adulthood, and old age. These stages might be called *cross-cultural divisions* of the life cycle, because they are found in every culture that exists.

The duration of each stage may vary in different cultures. For instance, in some countries a 12-year-old may be considered a child, while in others he is already considered an adult. There may also be additional stages between these major cross-cultural divisions in some cultures. But the cross-cultural divisions are, for all cultures, the inescapable stages in the biological continuum of life.

As we summarize the life cycles of the four cultures we have studied, keep these cross-cultural divisions in mind. You can then see more clearly how each culture puts a different emphasis on the same set of stages; how the length of the stages differs in each culture; and what additional stages some cultures add to the basic ones.

Think about the cross-cultural divisions presented in this unit. Do you think they are adequate to describe the life cycles of the four cultures you have studied? If you were going to describe these life cycles, would you use the same categories? Do you think a person from another culture might use different ones?

THE LIFE CYCLE IN MIDDLE CLASS AMERICA

The first stage of the American life cycle includes all of the cross-cultural divisions of infancy, and may include the early part of the cross-cultural division of childhood.

The second stage in the American life cycle includes at least a part of the cross-cultural division of childhood. Adolescence, the third stage in the American life cycle, must be understood not as a stage but as a *transition* between cross-cultural divisions.

The fourth stage of the American life cycle corresponds to the cross-cultural division of adulthood, and the fifth stage with the cross-cultural division of old age.

These major divisions of the American life cycle appear to fit more closely into the proposed cross-cultural divisions than any of the other case studies.

Do you think it is possible to be totally free from the influences of one's own culture?

NOTE: The problem of objectivity is one which the social scientist must constantly grapple with. This is especially true for the anthropologist. Why should the American case study fit so well into the cross-cultural categories? Surely it is because our organization has been influenced by our own cultural organization of this material.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE TIV

Remember that the Tiv themselves do not divide their life cycle into definite stages. The divisions you have studied are those which appear logical to an anthropologist as he looks at the culture from the outside.

The first two stages of the Tiv life cycle may be included in the cross-cultural division of infancy. Only the third stage of the Tiv life cycle is included in the cross-cultural division of childhood.

The fourth stage begins with marriage and is the beginning of the cross-cultural division of adulthood. Adulthood continues through stage five if you view the Tiv as having only six stages in their life cycle. Adulthood includes stage six as well if you think there are seven stages in the Tiv life cycle.

Perhaps the most satisfactory view is to think of Tiv women as passing through seven stages, and Tiv men as passing through six. In either case, the final stage in life corresponds to the cross-cultural division of old age.

The study of the Tiv shows that life cycle patterns differ not only from one culture to another, but that the life cycle of men and women within the same culture may not always be alike.

NOTE: Although the Tiv themselves do not divide their life cycle into explicit stages, the fact that they have to cope with the same biological reality as everyone else creates certain characteristics which can be ordered by the anthropologist into stages.

Such an *imposed structure* permits the anthropologist to generalize about the life cycle of the Tiv. But it should not be confused with or mistaken for divisions which the Tiv themselves might make.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE BALKAN PEASANT

The first stage of the Serbian life cycle corresponds roughly to the cross-cultural period of infancy. Although the second stage of the Serbian life cycle begins before weaning, it may be thought of as belonging to the cross-cultural division of childhood.

The cross-cultural period of childhood ends with the third stage of the Serbian life cycle, and the fourth stage may be thought of as the transition to full adult status. (Since most cultures think of marriage as marking the beginning of adulthood, this fourth stage has been made a part of adulthood in this discussion.)

The fifth and sixth stages in the Serbian life cycle are part of the cross-cultural period of adulthood, while the seventh and eighth stages belong to the cross-cultural division of old age.

It should be obvious from this summary that the divisions in the life cycle in any particular culture may not correspond exactly to the cross-cultural divisions, and that it may be possible to relate them only in a very general way.

How do the stages of the Serbian life cycle fit into the four broad cross-cultural divisions?

What kind of transitions marked the changes from one stage to the next?

THE CHINESE LIFE CYCLE

The first stage in the Chinese life cycle corresponds to the cross-cultural division of infancy. The second, third, and fourth stages fall into the cross-cultural division of childhood.

There is no long transitional period from childhood to adulthood in China. The fifth, sixth, and seventh stages all belong to the cross-cultural division of adulthood.

The eighth stage does not quite fit the cross-cultural division of old age. In China the birth of the first grandchild might come while an individual is still relatively young and vigorous. Only the final period of the eighth stage fits the cross-cultural category of old age.

The Chinese life cycle shows that the *cultural* divisions of the life cycle may not always correspond directly to *biological* developments in the continuum of human life.

What is the relationship between the cross-cultural divisions and the stages of the Chinese life cycle?

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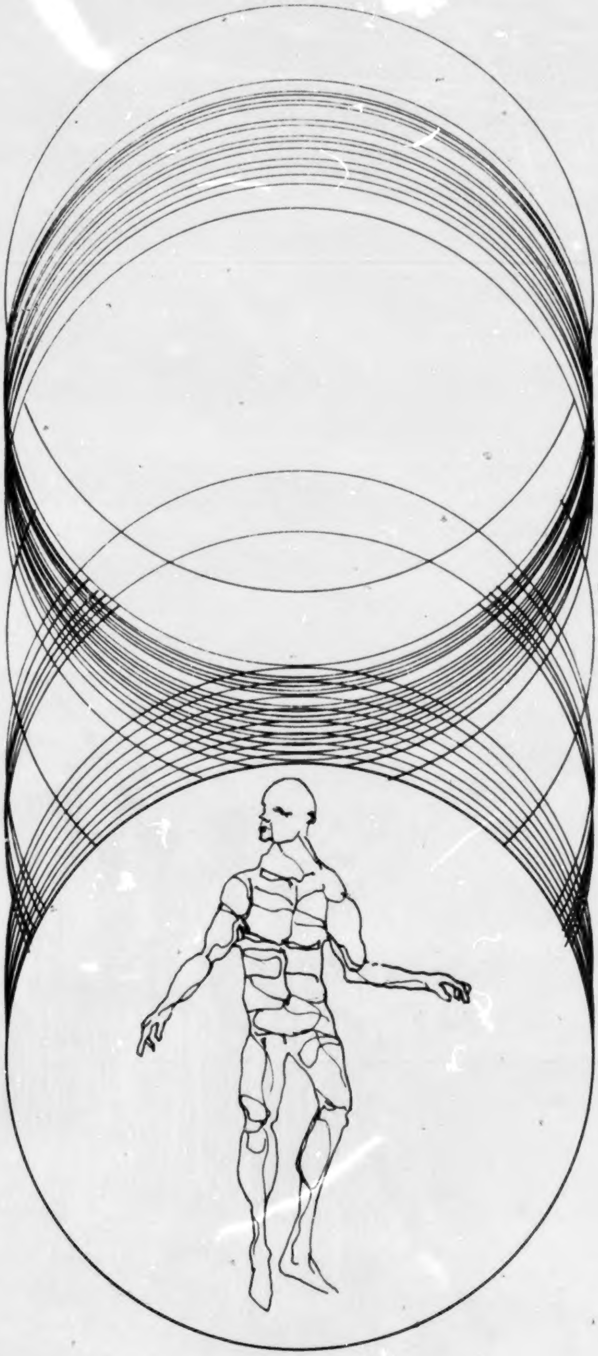
appendix



APPENDIX A
REVIEW QUESTIONS

PROBLEM SOLVING SITUATIONS

1. Your son, John, is 16 years old. He is about to go out on a date. You instruct John to be home by 11:00 p.m.
   How would you react to the following situations?
   a. John is not home and it is 10:30, but Judy's parents call and tell you that they instructed John to see to it that Judy be brought home by 10:00 p.m. (Judy is John's date).
   b. John is not home; the time is midnight.
   c. John arrives home at 1:00 a.m.
2. You are in Tivland. With you is a friend unfamiliar with methods of the anthropologist, but he is a trained physician. A Tiv woman is about to give birth to a child. Your friend offers to deliver the baby. How do you respond to this suggestion?
3. On your second trip to Tivland you are accompanied by friend X. X begins making fun of you. He laughingly states, "What can you learn from these primitive savages, ha, ha?" How do you reply? Also your key informant overhears the remark. What action do you take regarding him?
4. You are discussing the life cycle of the Tiv with some friends. One friend asks, "Gosh, don't Tiv boys miss the excitement and fun of teenage life?" What is your reply?
5. How has studying the life cycle affected your outlook on life?
6. Is a cross-cultural study a valuable approach to studying the life cycle? Why?

REVIEW QUESTIONS: Chapter I

1. What is anthropology?
2. Why do people study anthropology?
3. What is culture?
4. When an anthropologist studies a culture, does he divide it into parts or does he look at it as a whole?
5. Why do anthropologists study different cultures?
6. What is the comparative method?
7. What is meant by cultural relativity?
8. What is the holistic approach?
9. Why does an anthropologist study similarities between cultures? What is he trying to discover?
10. Are anthropologists interested in unique or accidental events? Why?
11. How do anthropologists use the word "man"? Explain.
12. What are anthropologists called who study man's biological characteristics?
13. What kinds of things are artifacts?
14. When an anthropologist goes and studies a people in the place where they live, he is studying them in a .... situation.
15. What are anthropologists called who are interested in the different ways man has found to live?

REVIEW QUESTIONS: Chapter II

1. What is a life cycle?
2. List two important reasons why anthropologists study the life cycle.
3. Explain enculturation.
4. Name the three main techniques used by an anthropologist when he studies a culture in the field.
5. How is participant observation different from simple observation?
6. In what way does a key informant help the anthropologist in his studies?
7. What does an anthropologist do before he makes a generalization about man's life cycle?
8. Why does man have a greater choice in the way he lives out his life than any other animal?
9. During what periods in the biological continuum is growth rapid?
10. What important biological changes take place from birth to an infant's first birthday?
11. What is pubescence?
12. When does body shape begin to differ between boys and girls?
13. Does change and development stop completely once maturity is reached?
14. What is menopause?
15. Describe the changes that take place in old age.
16. List the factors you have studied that influence the continuum of human life.
17. Do these factors influence the continuum alone or together to regulate the physical and biological changes that a person experiences?
18. How can the factor of heredity influence a person's life?
19. Can an individual's life be influenced before he is born? If so, how?
20. How important an influence is climate on growth and development?

21. How does disease and infection affect the biological continuum? What is the most extreme effect either can produce?

REVIEW QUESTIONS: Chapter III

1. What is the difference between a stage and a transition?
2. Name the four broad periods of the life cycle that are nearly universal.
3. Do all cultures divide their life cycle into the same number of stages?
4. Do cultural stages always coincide with biological development?
5. Do all cultures have a period of adolescence? Explain.
6. What is the difference between puberty and adolescence?
7. Why do people swaddle their babies?
8. The period of life when enculturation is the most important occupation of the individual is .... Explain.
9. Do men or women practice the couvade? What do they do? Why do they do it?
10. Does biological birth and biological death always mark the beginning and end of an individual's *cultural* life? Explain.

REVIEW QUESTIONS: American

1. Can you list the major stages of the American life cycle?
2. Are these stages the same as the four cross-cultural divisions of the life cycle?
3. What is adolescence? Why does it occur in the American life cycle?
4. What are the characteristics of American infancy? Are these the same characteristics you found in the other three cultures?
5. What other kinds of events mark transitions from one stage to another in the American life cycle?
6. In what ways are Tiv life cycle transitions similar to those in the American life cycle?
7. What does it mean to say the United States is a modern industrial nation?
8. What is the difference between the attitude toward old people in the United States and the attitude toward old people in the other cultures you have studied?
9. What is the difference between urban and rural?
10. What is mass culture?
11. Has mass culture influenced the life cycle of American people? If so, how?

REVIEW QUESTIONS: Tiv

1. What are the major stages in the Tiv life cycle?
2. How do these stages fit into the four cross-cultural divisions of the life cycle?
3. Do the Tiv themselves think of their life as being divided up into definite stages?
4. Are there any rites of passage in Tiv culture? If so, what are they?
5. What are the events that seem to move an individual from one stage to another in the Tiv life cycle?
6. What are the similarities and differences between Tiv childhood and childhood in the Balkans or China?
7. Do the Tiv have a period of adolescence?
8. Why do we say the Tiv are nonliterate? How is this different from being literate?
9. What is a tribe?
10. What is cicatrization? When does it occur?
11. What are some of the problems an anthropologist might face if he went to study the Tiv?

REVIEW QUESTIONS: Balkan

1. How many stages are there in the Balkan life cycle? What are their characteristics?
2. Which stages of the Balkan life cycle are similar to the cross-cultural division of infancy? Which are similar to childhood? Adulthood? Old age?
3. Do the Balkan peasants you have studied have an adolescent period? Are all the Balkan people peasants? What makes a person a peasant?
4. How do we know lineage membership is important to the Serbians?
5. What is the difference between a nuclear and and an extended family?
6. Who is a midwife, and what does she do?
7. Who gives and receives the dowry?
8. How do the Serbians feel about old people?
9. What methods do you think an anthropologist might use in studying the Balkans.

REVIEW QUESTIONS: China

1. How many stages are there in the Chinese life cycle?
2. Which stages of the Chinese life cycle are similar to the cross-cultural divisions of in-

fancy? Which are similar to childhood? Adulthood? Old age?

3. What are the rites of passage in the Chinese life cycle? When do they occur?
4. Do the Chinese have an adolescent period?
5. What are the characteristics of a civilization? How do you think these characteristics have influenced the villages of China?
6. Does the marriage of the eldest son cause anyone in the family to move from one stage in the life cycle to another? If so, who?
7. What event moves an individual into the final stage of the Chinese life cycle?
8. Do the Chinese usually live in nuclear or extended families? Which is the ideal form of family in China?
9. Is ideal and actual behavior always the same in China? Give examples.
10. How has the study of the Chinese life cycle helped you to understand Chinese culture?

APPENDIX B
ACTIVITIES

TAKING FIELD NOTES

Rationale. This activity is designed to help the student understand one of the basic aspects of anthropological field work. It will supply the student with information for writing an account of the life cycle as he perceives it in his own community. Hopefully, it will also provide a stimulus for more careful consideration of the needs and feelings of those people with whom he comes in daily contact.

Materials. Any kind of substantial notebook, preferably not loose-leaf so that the pages are not lost; pen or pencil.

Procedure. The exact procedure can be varied according to the class and the time available. Have the students record the activities of their various family members throughout one day. Try to have the students indicate which activities they have seen with their own eyes, which activities they record because they "know" what various people are doing, and which activities they are told about. This can be done simply by marking an "S" for seen, a "K" for know, and a "T" for told in the margin at the appropriate place in the notebook.

Many students may not have old people in their homes. Suggest that they try to interview an old person in their neighborhood concerning what he or she does all day long. The students should be cautioned about being polite and "professional" when undertaking such an interview. They should either call or make an appointment in person first. They might begin by saying:

"We are studying about the life cycle in my social studies class. One of our projects is to keep a notebook on peoples' daily activities. I am keeping records on what various members of my family do, but I would like to interview you to add to the information I have gathered from watching my own family. Would you be willing to tell me about your daily activities if I came by sometime when you are not busy?" The student should also be cautioned not to call the person "old" during the interview.

If the student is interested and has time, such interviews need not be limited to one older person, but may be conducted as often as desired. (See activities entitled *Making Up a Questionnaire* and *Interviewing* for additional ideas.)

Home observations should be recorded at least twice a week and should include at least two Saturdays or two Sundays. A minimum of ten observations should be strived for within the six-weeks period of the unit. Students should be encouraged to do more only if they want to. Girls or boys who baby-sit in other families may find this an excellent opportunity to make further observations.

The teacher should collect the notebooks periodically to help the student with organization, etc. It is suggested that everyone record on the same initial day and that the teacher go over the notebooks the following day. Part of a class period might well be devoted to a discussion of note taking. From time to time, the students might also be allowed to work on their notebooks in class.

The final part of this activity should be the organizing of their notes into a short statement about the American life cycle, or some aspect of it, as they have lived and observed it.

BULLETIN BOARDS

Rationale. To help encourage independent and creative activities; to reinforce some special aspect of the unit.

Materials. Any kind of material appropriate for display on a flat surface: pictures, maps, construction paper, etc.

Suggested Topics and Procedure.

An artifact bulletin board. Have the class look for pictures of artifacts that they think are typical of American culture. The student should be able to relate the artifact to the life cycle in some way. These artifacts should be grouped with specific stages of the life cycle. Many, if not all, the objects can be associated with more than one stage, but will have a different meaning to the individuals in the different stages. For example, a nursing bottle: infancy—food, pleasure; adulthood—something to be kept clean and filled, work.

A vocabulary bulletin board.

A bulletin board on any of the case studies.

A bulletin board on the stages of the life cycle or biological growth and development.

MAKING UP AND USING A QUESTIONNAIRE

Rationale. To familiarize the student with one technique and procedure used by anthropologists; to encourage independent activity.

Materials. Ordinary notebook paper, carbon paper, and a sharp pencil or ball-point pen.

Procedure. Have the class work in small groups. Let each group decide on a list of questions they would ask if they were going to try to question someone about their life history. Have each group make as many copies of their list as there are members of the group. This can be done by having each student make his own. Some students may want extra copies. They can make one good copy each by placing a carbon sheet between two notebook papers and writing heavily on the top page, preferably with a ball-point pen. Try to have as many individuals in each group as you have groups.

After the groups have made up their questionnaires, shuffle the groups so that the person from each of the original groups is present in each of the new groups. For example, you have 36 students. You divide the class into six groups. Give the students in each group a number from one to six. In recombining groups, have all the ones form one new group, all the two's another, etc.

Have the new groups compare the lists of questions. Have them choose the list they think is best or let them combine the lists in some way. For homework, have each student interview one person using the questionnaire from his second group. The students should keep a record of their interviews in their field notebook. The questionnaire should be kept in the notebook as well.

The teacher should caution the groups not to make the questionnaire too long. Once the students have done their interviews, they can discuss the different kinds of information they have received.

INTERVIEWING

Rationale. To help familiarize the student with one technique used by anthropologists in studying people; to help stimulate creative and independent study.

Material. Field notebook, pen or pencil.

Procedure. Divide the class into pairs. Have one individual be an informant and the other do the interviewing. Instruct the class that they are to collect life histories. Be sure that the student doing the interviewing makes notes on what the informant says.

After a period of ten to fifteen minutes, have the pairs reverse roles. Do not give any specific instructions other than they should find out something about the other person's life history.

When the second period of ten to fifteen minutes is up, have the class discuss the kind of questions they asked and the kind of answers they received. Ask them if they think their informant was telling the truth or making up a story. Ask them if they think their informant's accent was accurate. Discuss the difference between deliberate falsification and accidental falsification as a result of poor memory, etc. See if the class can figure out some way to verify what they were told. Be sure the class keeps these interviews in their field notebook. See also *Taking Field Notes* for additional ideas.

COMPARATIVE CHARTS

Rationale. To assist students in gaining greater understanding regarding culture, the life cycle, and the effect of culture on the life cycle; to enhance student comparisons of differences in cultural background and the life cycles of the selected cultures; to help conceptual development regarding the subject being studied.

Material. Ruler, writing artifact, notebook paper, poster paper, tape, or other artifact used to mount poster.

Procedure. 1. Discuss major or general topics for comparisons; for example, stages of the life cycle, composition of population, language, customs, and religious beliefs, economic systems, political system, and level of industry, etc. 2. List topics. 3. Classify topics in general categories; for example, Cultural Background, Life Cycle, etc. 4. Draw chart. This can be done in any manner, for example:

LIFE CYCLE

Selected Cultures / Stages or Periods	Birth	Infancy	Transition to Childhood	Childhood	Adolescence or Transition to Adulthood	Adulthood	Old Age
Middle Class U. S. A.,	1. Hospital 2. Physician	1. .... 2.					
Tiv Peasant	1. Home 2.	1. .... 2.					
Balkan Peasant	1. .... 2.						
Chinese Peasant	1. .... 2.						
Other	1. .... 2.						

Selected Cultures / Topics	Population	History	Industry	Political Structure
Middle Class U. S. A.,	1. 200,000,000 2. Heterogeneous 3. 70% urban 4.	1. Colony of British Emp. 2.	1. Light 2. Heavy 3. Diverse a.	1. Representative Democracy 2. .... 3. ....
Tiv Peasant	1. .... 2. Homogeneous 3.	1. .... 2.		1. Local autonomy 2. Rep. of Nigeria a. ....
Balkan Peasant	1. .... 2. .... 3. Agrarian	1. .... 2.		
Chinese Peasant	1. .... 2. .... 3.	1. .... 2.		

RESEARCH PAPER

Rationale. To enable the student to develop skills in independent research; to develop skills in critical thinking and conceptual development.

Materials. Writing artifacts; information sources, such as: school and public libraries, university libraries, U.S. Government Printing Office, local state historical societies, state archaeological societies, U.S. State Department, foreign embassies (public information offices), foreign visitors (exchange students, etc.), United Nations Public Information Office, UNESCO, etc.

Procedure.

1. Discuss various topics to be researched, such as a detailed study of Tiv religion, family life in China today, the effect of modern industry on Chinese culture, changes in American life due to science and technology, problems in the life cycle in middle class America and their causes, etc.
2. Have students select topics for research (students working separately or in teams).
3. Students investigate available material for their research.
4. Students submit final selection of topic to teacher.
5. Students carry out research.
6. Students submit topic outline.
7. Students submit detailed outline.
8. Students submit rough draft.
9. Students submit final report.
10. (option) Students' reports are presented to class and critical discussion follows; conclusions drawn.

AN EXERCISE IN CULTURAL OBSERVATION

Rationale. To develop skills in observing and analyzing cultures; to develop skills in critical thinking.

Material. Audiovisual artifacts (screen, sound film, projector); field note book and writing artifact for each student.

Procedure

1. Show film WITHOUT sound on a selected culture (i.e. *Children of China*—see Appendix C for suggestions).
2. Students and/or teacher record their observations.
3. Following the first showing, discuss the observations recorded.
4. List observations agreed on and, in a second column, observations disagreed on or those in question.
5. Show film again *with* sound.
6. Option: stop film occasionally to discuss prior observations and clarify observations in question.
7. Following film, discuss the learning experience and arrive at conclusions.

LETTER WRITING TO PEN PALS

Rationale. To bring the class into first-hand contact with people from other countries; to give them additional data to think about.

Materials. Writing paper, envelopes, stamps, and pen.

Procedure. Obtain names of individual pen pals, preferably from the case study cultures. Have members of the class write letters asking about the various stages of life in the other culture, and telling about the stages in American life. An alternative procedure would have the class write the letters deciding as a group what should be included. In some cases it may be possible to arrange to have a pen pal school class in another culture. In this case there might be a chance for every boy and girl to have a pen pal from the same class in the other country.

APPENDIX C
RESOURCE MATERIAL

Anthropology

Teacher

Beals, Ralph L. and Harry Hoijer

1965. *An Introduction to Anthropology.* 3rd Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company.
Manual used by the Peace Corps dealing with the problems of cultural change as seen by anthropologists.

Gillin, John

1948. *The Ways of Men.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.
Introductory anthropology text with good chapters on human biology.

Hoebel, E. Adamson

1966. *Anthropology: The Study of Man.* Third Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
An excellent introductory text. Includes section on the "Life Cycle".

Holmes, Lowell D.

1965. *Anthropology: An Introduction.* New York: The Ronald Press Company. Chapter 5: "The Concept of Culture," pp. 74-90.
A good explanation of culture and its parts.

Pelto, Pertti

1965. *The Study of Anthropology.* Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc.
A brief but excellent survey of the field of anthropology designed for educators. The concluding chapter, by Raymond H. Muessig and Vincent R. Rogers, is entitled, "Suggested Methods for Teachers."

Pupil

Bateman, Walter L.

1966. *How Man Began.* Chicago: Benefic Press
Designed for use as a supplementary text, this book is excellent for introduction to basic anthropological concepts. There is a summary of basic concepts and a glossary.

Evans, Eva (Knox) (P)

1951. *People Are Important.* New York: Capitol Publishing Company.
General introduction to anthropology written at very elementary and simple level.

Films

Man and His Culture. (Encyclopedia Britannica Films) 15 min. B & W
An excellent film showing the variety of cultures, their similarities and differences, how they change, how they are transmitted, and how they are studied.

Flat Pictures

Steichin, Edward

1955. *The Family of Man.* New York: Museum of Modern Art. Excellent pictures of families in many cultures.

Studying the Life Cycle

Teacher

Langness, L. L.

1965. *The Life History in Anthropological Science.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Continuum of Human Life

Teacher

Bossard, James H.S. and Eleanor Stoker Boll

1966. *The Sociology of Child Development.* Fourth Edition. New York: Harper & Row Publishers
Basic text on the social and cultural factors in child development.

Cain, Leonard D.

1964. "Life Course and Social Structure," in *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, Robert E. L., Faris, ed., pp. 272-309. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company.
Sociologist's approach to life cycle.

Harrison, G. A., et. al.

1964. *Human Biology.* New York: Oxford University Press.
Basic text dealing with human biology and growth.

Minturn, Leigh & William W. Lambert

1964. *Mothers of Six Cultures.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
A description of six cultures and their different methods of child bearing focusing on the mothers.

Nourse, Alan E.

1964. *The Body.* New York: Time Incorporated.
Excellent illustrations and good chapter on hormones and the endocrine system. Advanced students can probably read and understand this book.

Whiting, Beatrice B., ed.
1963. *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
Good recent comparative study of child rearing practices in six cultures.

Pupil

MacCracken, Helen Dolman
1964. *Basic Life Science.* Syracuse, New York: L. W. Singer
Biology textbook for 7th grade. Contains sections on nutrition, disease, and aging.

Tanner, James M. and Gordon Rattray Taylor
1965. *Growth.* New York: Time Incorporated.
Text and pictures showing the biological development and growth of humans, and aspects of influences upon growth.

Zim, Herbert S.
1960. *How Things Grow.* n. p.: William Morrow and Company.
Explains growth from embryo, growth differences, differences in sexes, effects of nutrition, and emotional needs. Some illustrations.

Films

Human Growth. (E. C. Brown Trust) 19 min. Color. Georgia Center for Continuing Education.
A mixed group of seventh graders view and discuss an animated film which traces human growth and development of the human organism through pregnancy and birth.

Stages of the Life Cycle

Teacher

Anderson, Edna A.
1966. *Families and their Needs.* Teacher's Edition. Morristown, N. J.: Silver Burdette Company.
Primary textbook. May be used by teacher for additional ideas regarding activities, and for use with remedial readers.

Blitsten, Dorothy R.
1963. *The World of the Family: A Comparative Study of Family Organizations in Their Social and Cultural Settings.* New York: Random House.
Has particular value for use with Chinese and United States cultures.

Comfort, Alex
1956. *Aging: The Biology of Senescence.* New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc.
A biologist looks at the aging processes in detail.

Eisenstadt, S. N.
1956. *From Generation to Generation.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press of Glencoe.
A sociological analysis of age groups and how they function in various cultures.

Ford, Clellan S.
1945. *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction.* Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 32. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
Basic cross-cultural survey of reproduction.

Queen, Stuart and Robert W. Habenstein
1967. *The Family in Various Cultures.* Third Edition. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company.
May be used as background material for all cultures, but has particularly relevant chapters of African, Chinese, and United States families.

Taba, Hilda
1955. *A Study of Peer Group Dynamics in an Eighth Grade.* Studies in Intergroup Relations with perspective on human relations. Washington: American Council on Education.
A useful book outlining procedures for keeping student diaries as a classroom and home activity. Many worthwhile suggestions on classroom teaching procedures appropriate for use with the life cycle unit.

Taba, Hilda and Deborah Elkins
1950. *A Story of an Eighth Grade.* Studies in Intergroup Relations with perspective on human relations. Washington: American Council on Education.
A case study of a classroom describing the use of student-kept diaries as a teaching device as well as many other

techniques easily adaptable and directly relevant to teaching the unit on the life cycle.

Pupil

DeSchweinitz, Karl

1965. *Growing Up: How We Become Alive, Are Born, and Grow.* New York: The Macmillan Company.
Describes fertilization and development of embryo, growth of baby, pubescence, and marriage.

Lantis, Margaret

1960. *Eskimo Childhood and Interpersonal Relationships.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.
Shows enculturation and life cycle of Nunivak Eskimos. This book is in story form.

Mead, Margaret

1965. *Family*. Photographs by Kenneth Hyman. New York: Macmillan Company.
Well-taken and attractive pictures with accompanying text present the family all over the world as a basic unit in society.

Steichen, Edward

1955. *The Family of Man.* New York: Museum of Modern Art.
Photographs of 68 countries showing men, women, and children working, playing, fighting, and dreaming—living.

Films

Baby Meets His Parents. (Encyclopedia Britannica Films) 11 min. B & W Georgia Center for Continuing Education.
Shows how the baby's personality is influenced directly by the extent to which the baby finds fulfillment to his basic needs.

Boy to Man. (Churchill Films) 16 min. Color. University of Michigan Audio-Visual Education Center.
An excellent film which utilizes live-action and an animation to present the changes that occur in a boy during adolescence. It covers the physiological changes in the skin, voice, hair, endocrine glands, and sex organs.

Children of the Plains Indians. 20 min. B & W Georgia State Department of Education. #25174
Shows the training of children for assumption of adult roles showing the enculturation process very well. It is written in story form about "Red Cloud" and his family.

Developmental Characteristics - Pre-Adolescents. (McGraw-Hill) 20 min. B & W Georgia Center for Continuing Education.
Shows characteristics of both sexes at pre-adolescence, especially ages of 8 and 9, in story form. Appropriate for teacher's background material on maturation.

Girl to Woman. (Churchill Films) 15 min. Color. University of Michigan Audio-Visual Education Center.
An excellent film describing and explaining, with use of extensive animation, the physical changes that occur in a girl during puberty and adolescence.

Growing Up (Preadolescence). (Coronet Instruction Films) 11 min. B & W
Describes and shows the variations and differences in the normal growth process between boys and girls. There is some emphasis on health measures, and the role of the endocrine glands are pointed out.

Helping the child to accept the do's. (Encyclopedia Britannica Films) 11 min. B & W Georgia Center for Continuing Education.
Shows how adults help children develop patterns of living to shape their personality and fit in the culture.

Helping the child to face the don'ts. (Encyclopedia Britannica Films) 11 min. B & W Georgia Center for Continuing Education.
Shows how the young child meets "don'ts" and how he reacts by conforming in his own way. Stresses personality development of the child through enculturation.

You're Growing Up. (Bailey Films, Inc.) 10 min. B & W
Describes and shows the natural physical and emotional changes that occur

with growth from age one to twenty.

Filmstrips

Life Before Birth, I. (Life Filmstrips)
Shows fertilization, cell division, and development of embryo to five weeks.

Life Before Birth, II. (Life Filmstrips)
Reviews the first five weeks of embryonic development. Shows growth and development up to time of birth.

Balkans

Teacher

Auty, Phyllis
1965. *Yugoslavia.* New York: Walker and Company.
A very good overall survey of the political history of Yugoslavia. Very easy reading.

Halpern, Joel
1967. *A Serbian Village: Social and Cultural Change in a Yugoslav Community.* Revised Edition. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.

Halpern, Joel
1963. "Yugoslav peasant society in transition-stability in change." *Anthropological Quarterly*, 36: 156-182.
A condensation of many of the points Halpern makes in his monograph. Emphasis is on change.

Jelavick, C.
1965. *The Balkans.* Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. An average history of Yugoslavia.

Lodge, Olive
1941. *Peasant Life in Yugoslavia.* London: Seeley, Service & Co.
A very good study of the 19th century peasants in Yugoslavia.

Moseley, Philip E.
1940. "The Peasant Family: the Zadruga, or Communal Joint Family in the Balkans." In *The Cultural Approach to History*, edited by Caroline Ware. New York: Columbia University Press.
A very good concise discussion of the Zadruga. Says it is slowly disappearing.

Sanders, Irwin
1949. *Balkan Village.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
A typical anthropological study of a Balkan village. Very easy to read.

Sanders, Irwin
1962. *Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Study of a Greek village in which aspects of the life cycle are covered.

Trouton, Ruth
1952. *Peasant Renaissance in Yugoslavia, 1900-1950.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd.
An excellent account of the peasants in Yugoslavia in the first part of the 20th century.

Pupil

Tillyard, Angela
1962. *The Land and People of Yugoslavia.* New York: The Macmillan Company.
A very elementary survey of Yugoslavia, its land, history, and peoples. Good for general background of country and its several sections, written for British readers. Too elementary for 7th grades.

Films

Yugoslav Village. (Coronet Instructional Films)
8 min. B & W
Shows life in a small village in Central Bosnia. It points out home life, working in the fields, children in school, and market day in Sarajevo. The film is not directly life cycle oriented, but is a very good brief survey of village life.

Yugoslavia. (Julian Bryan - International Film Foundation.) 27 min. Color. Georgia Center for Continuing Education.
Describes history of the land from the Romans to World War II and the rise of Tito. Shows industry, culture, farm and city life. Good for introduction to Balkan case study.

Filmstrips

Living in Yugoslavia Today. (Society for Visual Education, Inc.)

Flat Pictures

"Yugoslavia, Between East and West," *National Geographic*, Vol. 121: pp. 219-247.

(February, 1962)
Pictures and text showing the Dalmatian Coast, especially Dubrovnik.

China

Teacher

Chai, Ch'u and Winberg Chai
1962. *The Changing Society of China.* Mentor Book MT 365. New York: The New American Library of World Literature.
A social, political, and cultural survey of China from its remote past to the present day.

Fessler, Loren
1963. *China.* New York: Time Incorporated
Excellent illustrations and text give good background to Chinese history and culture. Also has extensive coverage of Communism in China.

Geddes, W. R.
1963. *Peasant Life in Communist China.* Ithaca, New York: The Society for Applied Anthropology of Cornell University.

Hsu, Francis L. K.
1948. *Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Chinese Culture and Personality.* New York: Columbia University Press.
An excellent account of Chinese kinship, personality and family life, written by a Chinese anthropologist. Almost the entire book is directly relevant to life cycle studies.

Hu, Change-tu
1960. *Some Aspects of Contemporary Chinese Society.* New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files Press. Reprinted from China its people, its society, its culture.
An excellent short account. Easy to read.

Lin, Yueh-Hwa
1947. *The Golden Wing: A Sociological Study of Chinese Familism.* Oxford University Press.
An account of a family from the native village of Lin Yueh-Hwa. Field work was done in 1934. Most of the text is directly related to the life cycle.

Lin, Yutang
1935. *My Country and My People.* John Day Co., Inc.
A well-known author's account of his own country and people simply written. Deals with the life cycle itself as well as setting the background for understanding Chinese life.

Wolf, Margery
1968. *The House of Lim.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
A very readable study of the members of a Chinese farm family.

Yang, C. K.
1959. *A Chinese Village in Early Communist Transition.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Excellent account by a sociologist and anthropologist dealing with the changes in Chinese villages between 1948-1951. This volume reports actual field observations.

Yang, Martin C.
1945. *A Chinese Village: Taitou, Shangtung Province.* New York: Columbia University Press.
An anthropological account of the village where Professor Yang was born and raised. Much of the material is directly related to the life cycle. Chapter 16 is the story of a small boy's daily life.

Pupil

Fessler, Loren
1963. *China.* New York: Time Incorporated
Excellent illustrations and text give good background to Chinese history and culture. Also has coverage of Communism in China.

Fleming, Edith
1960. *The Chao Family of China.* Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum Press.
An excellent story dealing with a family in China, with kinship relations and systems emphasized.

Pruitt, Ida (A)
1945. *A Daughter of the Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working*

Woman. From the story told the author by Ning Lao T' ai-T'ai. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Story of Chinese woman's life and her efforts to raise her family, in which the customs and traditions of northern Chinese are excellently portrayed.

Sansan. (A)
1964. *Eighth Moon*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers
Autobiographical account of a girl growing up in Peking under Communism with her aunt and uncle, and of her ultimate escape to rejoin her family in the United States.

Wiens, Harold J.
1966. *China*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: The Fideler Co.
This book is designed to present China to 6th and 7th graders. It discusses China's past and the impact that changes have brought to the Chinese way of life.

Films

Children of China. (Encyclopedia Britannica Films) 11 min. B & W Georgia State Department of Education.
An excellent film showing Chinese children at school, home, and play. Pointed out are the different types of family relationships, school training in loyalty to parents, home and community customs, and the influence of Chinese tradition on modern life.

China Under Communism. 25 min. Color. Georgia State Department of Education.
Generally a very good film that points out the life of the Chinese peasant under the Communist system. Shows the changes in life brought about by Communism.

Farming in South China (Si River Valley). (United World Films) 20 min. B & W.
Shows the homelife and culture of a poor Chinese farmer and his family in a densely populated agrarian area.

Peiping Family. International Film Bureau) 20 min. B & W.
Shows a middle-class family of post-war Peiping in a household of grandparents, parents, children. Scenes show the children being taught by their mother, doing household tasks, playing, and at dinner. There are also scenes of peddlers, the temples, and the daily life of Peiping. An excellent film.

Flat Pictures

"Along the Yangtze, Main Street of China." National Geographic. Vol. 93: pp. 325-356. (March, 1948).
Many excellent pictures of life along the Yangtze River. Covers the urban and rural setting.

"Peking: A Pictorial Record." *National Geographic*, Vol. 118: pp. 194-197, 199-223. (August, 1960)
A very good pictorial account of life in Peking, the capitol of China. Several were taken in the schools.

"This is the China I Saw." National Geographic, Vol. 126: pp. 591-640. (November, 1964).

Tiv

Teacher

Bohannon, Laura
1960. "The Frightened Witch," in *In the Company of Man: Twenty Portraits of Anthropological Informants*, Joseph B. Casagrande, ed., pp. 377-395. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc. (Harper Torchbooks)

Bohannon, Paul
1954. *Tiv Farm and Settlement*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Bohannon, Paul
1964. *Africa and Africans*. New York: Natural History Press.

Bohannon, Paul and Laura Bohannon.
1958. *Three Source Notebooks in Tiv Ethnography*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files.
These books represent the author's fieldnotes organized into three sections. The first deals with the economy, the second with the social and political organization, and the third with the life cycle. They are very

useful but very difficult to find.

Bowen, Elenore Smith (pseud. Laura Bohannon)
1964. *Return to Laughter: An anthropological novel.* Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc. (Anchor Books)
Written in narrative style, this book gives insights into the trials and tribulations of field work as well as into the Tiv people. It is highly recommended reading.

East, Ruper (ed.)
1965. *Akiga's Story.* London: Oxford University Press.
This book was written by a Tiv. He describes his life from the first things he remembers as a child. It is rather disorganized, but useful in gaining an understanding of the Tiv.

Gibbs, James L., Jr.
1965. *Peoples of Africa.* Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, Inc.
Includes descriptive analyses of fifteen tribal groups living in sub-Saharan Africa. The Tiv are included.

Mead, Margaret (ed.)
1955. *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change.* New York: New American Library, pp. 96-126.
A brief, but thorough survey of the Tiv, including aspects of the life cycle.

Pupil

Barker, Eric J.
1962. *A Nigerian Family.* London: Evans Brothers, Ltd.
Story of a boy and his family, and their way of life in Nigeria.

Forman, Brenda-Lu and Harrison Forman
1964. *The Land and People of Nigeria.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.
This book gives a good background portrait of Nigeria's history, natural resources, and variety of tribes and religions. It also discusses Nigeria's emergence as a new nation and the problems of steering a middle course between Eastern and Western influences.

Films

Africa is My Home. (Atlantis Productions, Inc.) 21 min. Color. The University of Michigan Audio-Visual Education Center.
Native girl of Ibo tribe in Nigeria tells about her life. Described and shown are rural and urban areas of Nigeria, African art, and the ideas and ambitions of Ibo youth. Excellent for life cycle.

Filmstrips

Nigeria: What You'd See There. (Bailey Films, Inc.)
Two color filmstrips with records showing the changing standard of living in Nigeria, similarities and differences between life there and in the United States, and the traditional ways of living. There is nothing on the Tiv but gives a general survey of the country.

APPENDIX D
VOCABULARY

CHAPTER I

- diversity
- anthropologists
- culture
- physical anthropologist
- characteristics
- cultural anthropologists
- archaeologists
- excavating artifacts
- reconstruct
- ethnologist
- technology
- extinct
- social anthropologist
- linguist
- values
- generation
- field
- biologists
- geologists
- psychologists
- holistic

CHAPTER II

- life cycle
- economics
- social
- political
- enculturated
- acculturated
- discriminating
- relevant
- irrelevant
- key informants
- participant-observer
- generalize
- offspring
- evolution
- communicate
- continuum
- conception
- fertilization
- immunities
- weaning
- customs
- taboos
- cerebral cortex
- deciduous
- exhaustive
- pubescent
- menopause
- hormones

CHAPTER III

- ethnographer
- hypothesis
- homogenous
- sectionalism
- elements
- socio-economic classes
- mass culture
- subculture
- Anglo-Saxon
- akombo
- diviner
- tsav
- potential
- zadruga
- nuclear
- family
- lineage
- nationalism
- legal processes
- affluence
- mobile
- stereotype
- non-literate
- subsistence farming
- compound
- patrilineal lineage
- exogamous
- polygynous
- brideprice
- collective farming
- communes
- imbedded
- preliterate
- semi-nomadic
- nature deities
- Shang Ti
- civilization
- aristocracy
- commoners
- tsu
- hsing

CHAPTER IV

- age grades
- rites of passage
- infanticide
- cultural birth
- couvade
- swaddled
- siblings
- period of compression
- decompression
- babicas
- rectory
- patrilineal
- patrilocal

CHAPTER V

- enculturation
- adolescence
- environment
- cicatrization
- generalization
- case studies
- allocation

CHAPTER VI

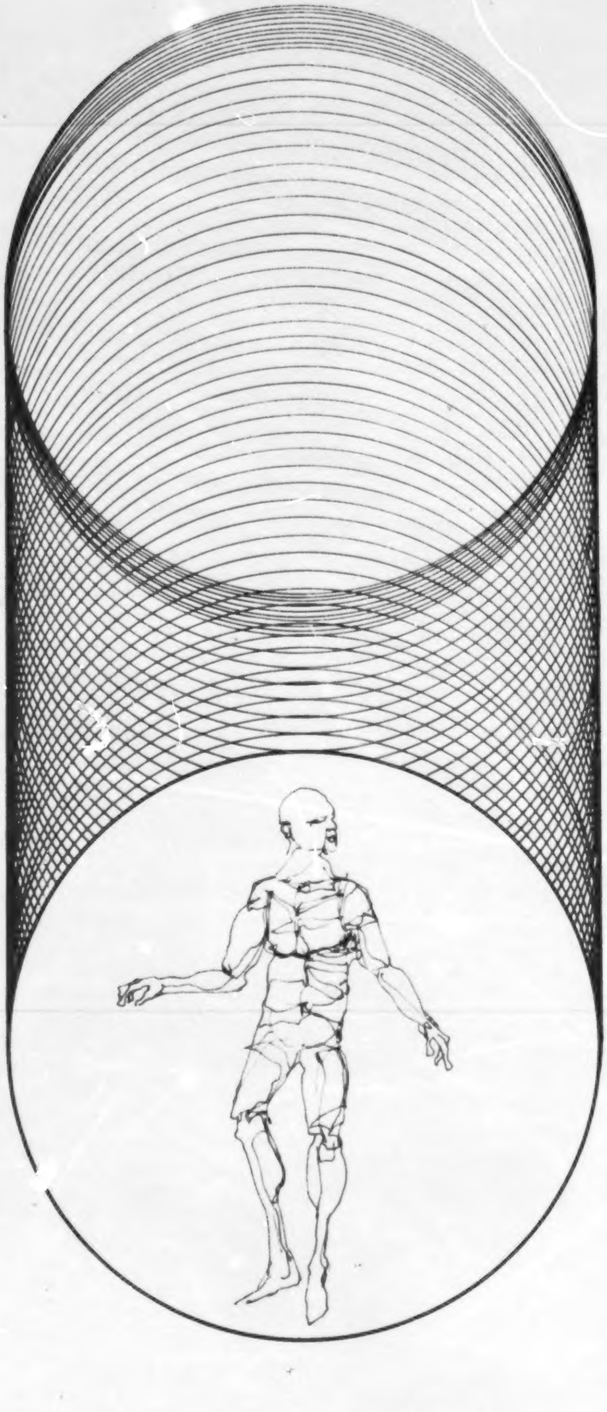
- marital status
- immortality
- reincarnation
- analytical
- ambivalent
- escapism
- core values
- emergent values
- neolocal
- patrilocal residence
- matrilocal
- cica
- deda
- baba
- data

CHAPTER VII

- cross-cultural divisions
- imposed structure

anthropology curriculum project, university of georgia

LIFE CYCLE



TEST form 7

a sequential
curriculum in
anthropology

pub. 49b
march 1969

This test consists of fifty items. Each item has four possible answers. You are to read each question carefully and choose the **one** answer you think is best. On your answer sheet blacken in the space having the same number as the answer you think is best. There is only one right answer for each question. Do not write on this test booklet.

Sample Question A. A circle is
1. square
2. round
3. triangular
4. oblong

1. The type of anthropologist most likely to be concerned with the study of the life cycle is the
   1. archeologist
   2. biologist
   3. linguist
   4. cultural anthropologist

2. An ethnologist is an anthropologist who
   1. makes cross cultural comparisons
   2. studies one culture in detail
   3. reconstructs the past through artifact study
   4. studies differences in blood types in man

3. The term which includes such traits as eating, language, house types, games, religion, education, and making a living is
   1. social class
   2. nationality
   3. culture
   4. race

4. The method used by anthropologists to make generalizations about human behavior is
   1. cross cultural comparison
   2. participant observation
   3. field work
   4. laboratory analysis

5. Culture is passed on from one generation to another through
   1. genetic inheritance
   2. learning
   3. acculturation
   4. comparative method

6. A term used to sum up the anthropological approach to the study of man is
   1. holistic
   2. scientific
   3. sympathetic
   4. naturalistic

7. Observation, interview, and participant observation are methods which the anthropologist uses in his
   1. library work
   2. excavating
   3. note taking
   4. field work

8. Events which make up the life cycle are both
   1. real and ideal
   2. psychological and physical
   3. biological and cultural
   4. biological and physical

9. The birth of the first child does not serve as a rite of passage for the mother among the
   1. Tiv
   2. American
   3. Chinese
   4. Balkan

10. An example of a Tiv practice related to the life cycle is
    1. boys and girls who are not engaged do not appear together at social functions
    2. little or no public breast feeding of infants
    3. cicatrization to make flat body designs
    4. circumcision of male infants immediately following birth

11. An individual learns the most during which year of the life cycle?
    1. first
    2. tenth
    3. fifteenth
    4. twentieth

12. A sign of aging found in the life cycle of women in all cultures but not of men is
    1. reduced sexual drive
    2. decline in physical abilities
    3. menopause
    4. greying of hair

13. Which of the following reflects a distinction between biological and cultural birth made in some cultures?
    1. rites of intensification
    2. weaning
    3. conception
    4. infanticide

14. The transition from infancy to childhood in a culture
    1. is marked by weaning
    2. begins with schooling
    3. varies with the individual
    4. depends on cultural practices

15. The personality structure of individuals in all cultures is developed during
    1. childhood
    2. adolescence
    3. adulthood
    4. pubescence

16. Schooling as a part of the life cycle is less important to children in
    1. American culture
    2. Balkan culture
    3. Chinese culture
    4. Tiv culture

17. Fewer rituals are associated with birth in which culture?
    1. Tiv
    2. American
    3. Chinese
    4. Balkan

18. Childhood is primarily significant for
    1. pubescence
    2. enculturation
    3. schooling
    4. acculturation

19. A cultural practice used to distinguish changes in status associated with the life cycle is called
    1. rites of purification
    2. cultural birth
    3. rites of passage
    4. cultural extinction

20. Decline in respect of elderly persons in the American life cycle is due in part to
    1. decline in importance of marriage
    2. emphasis on romantic love
    3. changing emphasis in a technological society
    4. lack of judgment and experience of older people

21. Adolescence as a distinct stage in the life cycle of certain cultures is due primarily to
    1. differences in biological maturity
    2. problems in transition to adult status
    3. early marriage
    4. higher intelligence

22. Tension between teenagers and adults in technological societies results primarily from
    1. the universal conflict between younger and older generations
    2. the lack of teenage opportunity to aspire to self identity
    3. the frustrations which come from biological maturity and cultural dependence
    4. the need to examine traditional values transmitted by the culture

23. Organization of cultural data around the concept of the life cycle is most useful for becoming aware of
    1. cultural differences and similarities
    2. growth characteristics in a culture
    3. cultural adaptations to the biological continuum
    4. kinship and family organization

24. Which set of the life cycle periods represents the time of most intense growth?
    1. prenatal and pubescence
    2. adulthood and adolescence
    3. childhood and adulthood
    4. childhood and adolescence

25. The cultural and biological significance of pubescence in all cultures is that the individual becomes
    1. self-reliant
    2. able to reproduce
    3. an adult
    4. an adolescent

26. The oldest culture is
    1. American
    2. Tiv
    3. Chinese
    4. Balkan

27. Which culture does not have a period of pubescence?
    1. American
    2. Tiv
    3. Chinese
    4. none of these

28. In American culture which might be considered a rite of passage?
    1. marriage
    2. infancy
    3. adulthood
    4. employment

29. In which culture does the treatment of death provide the best example of a distinction between cultural and biological death?
    1. American
    2. Tiv
    3. Chinese
    4. Balkan

30. The significance of adolescence is
    1. the appearance of secondary sex characteristics
    2. the opportunity to date
    3. provision for a longer period of time for enculturation
    4. a period of few responsibilities

31. Which represents a religious practice associated with the life cycle?
    1. circumcision
    2. cicatrization
    3. baptism
    4. all of these

32. During which two periods of the life cycle is the individual most dependent on others?
    1. infancy and adolescence
    2. childhood and pubescence
    3. adulthood and old age
    4. old age and infancy

33. Of all the life cycle stages the one most similar in all cultures is
    1. infancy
    2. childhood
    3. adulthood
    4. old age

34. Which pair is incorrectly matched?
    1. old age---providing economic support to family
    2. childhood---enculturation
    3. adulthood---reproduction
    4. adolescence---transition to adulthood

35. Which phrase characterizes adulthood in all cultures?
    1. religious devotion
    2. providing a living
    3. military service
    4. respect by younger

36. In universal terms a successful marriage is evidenced by
    1. marital happiness
    2. birth of children
    3. solidarity of the two family groups
    4. wealth of husband and wife

37. Which phrase best describes the consequences of old age for an individual?
    1. increase in social prestige
    2. decrease in social prestige
    3. gain in political power
    4. depends on the culture

38. Industrialization would most likely affect the life cycle of a primitive group by
    1. increasing infant mortality rate
    2. decreasing infant mortality rate
    3. developing a period of adolescence
    4. decreasing fertility rate

39. The residence pattern of the Tiv, Balkan, and Chinese is patrilocal. The American residence pattern is
    1. matrilocal
    2. neolocal
    3. unilocal
    4. exagamous

40. Life after death can best be described as a
    1. cultural adaptation
    2. cultural belief
    3. religious belief
    4. all of these

41. Information on the contemporary Chinese life cycle is lacking because
    1. communism ended the Chinese life cycle
    2. communism restricted visits of Westerners
    3. ancestor worship is unrelated to the life cycle
    4. forced collectivism is contrary to the life cycle

42. Which one of the following can affect an individual's life cycle prior to birth?
    1. disease of the pregnant woman
    2. malnutrition of the pregnant woman
    3. heredity
    4. all of these

43. Division of labor in most cultures is based on
    1. age and sex
    2. sex and education
    3. age and education
    4. strength and ability

44. A young Bushman boy learning to shoot a bow, Swedish children going to school, mothers singing to infants are all examples of
    1. acculturation
    2. rites of passage
    3. enculturation
    4. deculturation

45. Which is the correct sequence for the stages of the life cycle?
    1. childhood, adolescence, adulthood, death
    2. infancy, childhood, adulthood, death
    3. infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, death
    4. infancy, childhood, pubescence, adulthood, death

46. In the life cycles of the Tiv, Balkan, Chinese, and American cultural differences are most pronounced at the stages of
    1. childhood and adulthood
    2. adulthood and death
    3. infancy and childhood
    4. adolescence and old age

47. The adult life cycle in a technological society differs primarily from the equivalent stage in a primitive society because of
    1. heavy physical work demands
    2. ease with which divorce may be arranged
    3. variety of options for making a living
    4. neglect of religious ceremonies

48. A comparison of cultural practices related to death among the Tiv, Chinese, American, and Balkan indicate that buriel rites are largely concerned with
    1. eliminating the threat of witchcraft
    2. providing the spirit of the deceased with requirements for life after death
    3. rite of ancestor worship
    4. maintaining a sense of continuity among the living

49. Future changes in the life cycle may be caused by
    1. medical advances
    2. reduction of poverty
    3. continuing evolutionary processes
    4. all of these

50. Cultural practices which emphasize knowledge and respect for one's ancestors probably contribute to
    1. a desire for cultural change
    2. the importance of buriel rites
    3. a dependence on traditional behavior
    4. a pattern of patrilocal residence

Experimental Material 1969

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